National Library of Canada
Acquisitions and Bibliographic Services Branch
395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction des acquisitions et des services bibliographiques
395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

NOTICE

The quality of this microform is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Reproduction in full or in part of this microform is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30, and subsequent amendments.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microforme dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

La reproduction, même partielle, de cette microforme est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30, et ses amendements subséquents.

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

POINTS OF IDENTIFICATION:

EDUCATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE RESERVE SCHOOL SYSTEM

©

by

BARBARA E. BLACKMAN

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION IN INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL STUDIES

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL FOUNDATIONS

EDMONTON, ALBERTA

FALL, 1993

National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services Branch

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa, Ontario
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Direction des acquisitions et
des services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa (Ontario)
K1A 0N4

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

The author has granted an irrevocable non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of his/her thesis by any means and in any form or format, making this thesis available to interested persons.

L'auteur a accordé une licence irrévocable et non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de sa thèse de quelque manière et sous quelque forme que ce soit pour mettre des exemplaires de cette thèse à la disposition des personnes intéressées.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in his/her thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without his/her permission.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège sa thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

ISBN 0-315-88296-4

Canada

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

RELEASE FORM

NAME OF AUTHOR:	Barbara Blackman
TITLE OF THESIS:	Points of Identification: Educational Dynamics in the Reserve School System
DEGREE:	Master of Education
YEAR THIS DEGREE GRANTED:	1993

Permission is hereby granted to **THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA LIBRARY** to reproduce single copies of this thesis and lend or sell such copies for private, scholarly or scientific research purposes only.

The author reserves other publication rights, and neither the thesis nor extensive extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's written permission.

.....B. Blackman.....

PERMANENT ADDRESS

5823 - 138 Ave.
Edmonton, Alberta
T5A 1E4

Dated:.....October.....,**1993**

THE UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommend to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **POINTS OF IDENTIFICATION: EDUCATIONAL DYNAMICS IN THE RESERVE SCHOOL SYSTEM** submitted by Barbara E. Blackman in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of **MASTER OF EDUCATION** in **INTERNATIONAL/INTERCULTURAL EDUCATION.**

Dr. Marilyn Assheton-Smith (Supervisor)

Dr. Robert Carney

Dr. Margaret Haughey

Professor James Dempsey

Date: September 3/93

ABSTRACT

The reserve education sub-system is a system generally considered to be problematic and incapable of fulfilling its educational mandate. Furthermore, both the research and practice found within this system tend to associate the educational difficulties with deficit cultural/social dynamics.

The purpose of this study was to determine whether these deficit cultural/social dynamics were indeed the primary cause of the malaise the reserve education sub-system usually experiences. In order to ascertain if this was indeed the case, the primary focus of this research was on the systemic variables located within the reserve education sub-system.

The research for this study was conducted using a qualitative methodology. Information was collected by conducting interviews with six people who represented five band-controlled schools.

An analysis of the data indicated that the rigid parameters combined with an absence of autonomy and control found in the reserve system,(internal colonial model), replicated itself within the education sub-system. This resulted in those individuals involved within the educational realm holding each other, rather then the system

in which they worked, accountable for the difficulties the school was experiencing. A further consequence was that the interactive dynamics became defined using deficit cultural/social constructs.

It was concluded that if the distinctive problems that occur in the reserve education sub-system are ever to be redressed there needs to be a greater focus, both in the research and practice on the underlying system/agency/processes found within this education sub-system.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

So many people have bouyed, pulled, pushed and supported me in the last two years it is hard to know where to start. I suppose the best place to start is at the beginning - to thank my mother and father for both their belief in me and their financial and moral support.

To Dr. Carl Urion, a gentle healer and true guide - thank you for setting me on this path. Dr. Marilyn Assheton Smith, - I thank you for offering me the respect, independence and guidance that I required in order to complete this research. I would also like to offer my thanks to Dr. Carney for his assistance with the historical chapter and for serving on the committee. Thanks also to Dr. Haughey and Professor James Dempsey for serving as committee members.

To those who participated in the research, who gave their time, trust and constructive feedback on this thesis - this would not have been possible without your willingness to share your experiences.

My deepest gratitude to my dear friend Kelly Murphy, who went through the thesis experience at the same time as I did; without her support I would have never completed this work.

Finally, I would like to acknowledge and offer my love and thanks to my three young sons - Benjamin, Justin and Logan. They were my inspiration to do this research.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PROLOGUE .....

CHAPTER 1

EXPERIENTIAL IDENTIFICATION 1

Introduction 1

Position Identification 2

The School Experience 5

Analysis 13

Cultural Perception and Definition 14

Birth of A School 16

Community Structure/Social Dynamics 17

School Structure/Social Dynamics 18

Chapter Summary 20

CHAPTER 2

HISTORICAL IDENTIFICATION 22

Introduction 22

The Jesuits and Indian Education 23

Education in the Seminary 26

Chapter Summary 35

CHAPTER 3

RESEARCH IDENTIFICATION 39

Introduction 39

Teacher Education 41

Implications of Cultural Research 42

Conclusion 46

Methodology and Design 47

Nature of Study 47

Experiential Data 47

Historical Data 48

Interview Data 48

Research Parameters 49

Sample 49

Methodology 50

Ethical Considerations 51

Data Themes 51

Data Collection 52

Data Analysis 53

Chapter Summary 54

CHAPTER 4

THEORETICAL IDENTIFICATION 55

Introduction 55

Internal Colonial Model 56

Patron - Client Relationship 57

Closed System Process 66

Analysis of Equilibrium Systems 71

Structure and Hegemony 73

Current Educational Discourse 75

Critical Pedagogy 75

Postmodernism/Feminist Critique 77

Educator as Agent of Transformation 79

Chapter Summary 79

CHAPTER 5

THEMATIC IDENTIFICATION 82

Introduction 82

External System Parameters 82

Internal System Parameters:
Educational Visions and Goals 86

Educational Policy 88

Internal Policy and Practice 90

Accountability in the Reserve Education System 93

Social Actor Endorsement in the Reserve Education System 98

Teachers in the Reserve Education System 104

The Child in the Reserve Education System 107

Chapter Summary 108

CHAPTER 6

POINTS OF IDENTIFICATION 111

Introduction 111

Summary of the Research 114

Analysis 116

Structural Parallels 117

The School Structure 118

Processes 118

The Underlying Role of Accountability ...119

Communication 122

Confusion and Chaos 123

Appearances 124

Crisis 125

The Personal 126

Implications for Further Study 128

Conclusions 132

Bibliography 135

CHAPTER ONE

EXPERIENTIAL IDENTIFICATION

> **It is crucial that whites in the audience find points of identification - points of empathy with themselves - to create a situation where they merely empathize with those less fortunate than themselves is another kind of theatre... (Smith, 1993:90)**

Introduction

I have lived in the Native world for almost half my life. After the birth of my first child, I looked around and reflected in the way that mothers often do - on how I could make this world a safer, more accepting place for my child. I decided to go into education. I am a teacher who majored in intercultural education with the intention of going North to work in a First Nation's community. This I did for three years.

I thought as a teacher I might be able to give the children a respite from the constant bombardment of the outside world and allow them to enjoy being *who* they were rather than *what* they were not. Of course only to a small extent, was I able to do this. My teaching experience was one of the most draining and emotionally exhausting endeavours I have ever undertaken. I wept at the futility of

my efforts and at the destruction that occurred within that school.

My discussions with colleagues and friends leads me to believe that this destruction is common in many reserve schools and I despair. The Native elders talk about patience, always believing that given enough time and proper guidance people will walk a true path. I am an impatient young woman ...

Position Identification

When I came back to university to begin this research, I struggled for a long time with the ethical considerations of what I was about to undertake. I finally came to the realization that my discomfort was caused by my focus on what I considered to be incompetent individuals found in the reserve school sub-system. I am grateful for the niggling little voice in the back of my head that kept telling me there was something not quite right in my initial evaluation of the situation and that I had better attempt to remove myself from the narrow parameters in which I had grounded myself.

Removing myself from this interpretation of the situation helped me to realize that when I went to teach in that reserve school I had stepped into another "reality", (the reserve system). For awhile I lived in this reality,

(although still somewhat removed because of my position as a teacher). It was a reality I found both confusing and frustrating. When I stepped back into my own reality, (outside society), after leaving the community, there was a choice of two paths to follow.

The first choice would have been to simply dismiss the experience by attributing its existence to the deficiency of those who had existed within this educational reality at the same time as I had. The second path, and the one I chose to pursue, was to attempt to discover what exactly was occurring in the reserve education sub-system that I had so recently left.

Having chosen this path, I then had another choice to make. Would I remain outside this "other" reality and examine the situation from a position distanced, separated and which placed me apart, or would I attempt to examine the situation from a position which placed me back inside the "other" reality?

If I was to do this, I decided I would have to examine my own experience in terms of its similarities to the experiences of those other individuals with whom I had worked inside this reality. To lay cultural dissimilarities and personal bias aside and actively seek out points of identification through reflection on the experience however, is a leap which is extremely difficult to make. It requires

that to the best of our ability we shed our hegemonic trappings and personal bias - to in fact, deny the reality we know and are familiar with.

In choosing to examine the situation from a personal position, it was necessary to shift the focus from the other participants to myself. (We are all basically egocentric and unless an experience touches us personally in a manner such that we can identify ourselves with other individuals in the situation, our perception and understanding cannot be personally empathetic). I came to understand that if I personally could say - I can understand why this is happening for other people because it also happened to me - then I could establish a point from which to proceed which was not distorted by a perception defined by individual or social actor deficiency.

It seems to me, that while we can never completely understand another's reality, we can partially share the circumstances of the experience. In order to do this, it is necessary to locate points of empathy for ourselves within these circumstances. To exist and participate in the reality of the circumstances is the precursor to establishing these points of empathetic identification for ourselves within this reality and subsequently with those who have shared the same circumstances of experience.

Most importantly, within *cultural parameters* this personal identification creates a connection to the "others'" reality,(reserve population), as it makes the experience intelligible and understandable at a personal level. It provides a reference of similarity which can be used as a point of identification with the "others'" - a bridge between the two cultural realities, (the reserve system and the Canadian system). This in turn means, that although we can never exist within the reality of the "others'",(the reserve population), we can stand in a closer position on the outside parameters because of the thread of shared circumstances of experience.

Of the points of identification this research will offer, the first will therefore be personal in nature as it was my own experiences which initially moved me to explore this education sub-system.

The School Experience

The community in which I taught was fairly isolated, with the nearest town being 100 kilometres away by road. Until approximately 1965, the community led an existence which required very little contact with the outside world. However, in 1965 a road was built into the community which opened it up to that outside world.

In 1986, the year that I and the rest of my colleagues arrived in the community, the Band had taken control of their education. The previous staff had resigned and consequently the entire staff, save one member, were new.

The school was one in which I would teach for three years and an experience that gave me more than I will ever be able to repay. The people in the community were kind, generous and embraced me as one of their own. They will always have a place in my heart and I thank them....

The initial contact with the community was one of welcome and enthusiasm. Once we had all settled ourselves, the teachers attended a three day cross-cultural workshop. At the end of this workshop, we participated in a feast and tea-dance hosted by Chief and Council. The teachers were then assigned a community liaison person and with classlists in hand, teachers and liaisons went around the community introducing themselves to the parents and families of prospective students. Finally, the last three days before school opened were spent organizing our classrooms.

Reflecting back on this first year in the school, brings to mind a general impression of great enthusiasm, energy, cooperation, creativity, tolerance and optimism on the part of the school staff. This excitement I might add, was also reflected in the community. Perhaps the strongest indicator of this was the attendance rate which

for that first year was seventy percent, a dramatic increase from the thirty five percent attendance of the previous five years. The staff, students and community were all happy with what appeared to be happening in terms of connection and positive growth.

That year, there were approximately 250 children enrolled, and 17 staff which included, 14 teachers, a principal, a vice-principal as well as a full-time librarian and psychologist. There were also nine paraprofessional and support staff members in the school.

The school's organizational structure was based on the standard Alberta education system. It followed the K-9 pattern for grouping the students and used the Alberta curriculum as its knowledge base. Within these general parameters however, educational philosophy and vision was disorganized and confused. There were also no clear educational objectives or goals or any determination on how these might best be achieved.

Cultural concessions consisted of a "cultural" program which saw different elders come into the school and interact with the various classes. This however, was done in a culturally inappropriate manner, with the elders being taken to different classrooms at specific times to "talk" to the students. There was also a small amount of community resource material that had been developed for the social

studies and language curriculum. Finally, the Band had hired T.A's,(teaching assistants), from the community to assist the teachers and students in the classroom with the language barrier and course instruction.

As the year evolved, the structural component of the school become increasingly malfunctional. This seemed to be the result of the inordinate amount of power and control the administrator held. In September, the organizational structure of the school lacked a superintendent and an Education Director so the principal decided to assume both these positions. By January, he also held the position of vice-principal, having relieved the staff member who held this position, of his administrative duties. When an Education Board was finally established in early February, the teachers were forbidden access by the principal to this Board or Chief and Council.

This created rigid and restrictive boundaries for both the teachers and community. It meant in essence, that all the power rested in one man's hands and that the checks and balances usually in place were missing. Change could only be brought about in the school through one person,(the principal), and this caused considerable difficulties for both school and community.

Regardless, many of the staff still held the belief that the problem was simply a communication "blockage" which

could be surmounted. They thought that it was their inability to communicate their concerns that was the major impediment in trying to elicit the administrator's help and support.

The second year, which began with the same teachers and administrator, reflected a general atmosphere of enthusiasm, energy, cooperation, tolerance and optimism, much as the year before. The one identifiable difference was a disillusionment with the administrative process. This loss of trust led to a partial withdrawal of the staff from the administration. Despite this, teachers still believed that their primary goal, which was to be successful within their own classrooms, could be achieved.

The school however, in terms of organizational structure was becoming progressively more disorganized and chaotic. There began to be a noticeable increase in crisis and the school established a crisis management pattern[1] as it began to move from crisis to crisis. These crisis situations would be "reacted" to, but would never be resolved in any consistent or concrete manner.

As the school year progressed, two critical incidents occurred which further strained the education sub-system. The first was the dismissal of the principal in March, by the Board of Education. He was replaced by a member of the

staff. The second was the dissolution of the Board of Education by Chief and Council.

As a result of these incidents, teachers began to experience increasing doubt and anxiety. The energy level dropped and mutual cooperation among the staff began to erode. There was yet a further withdrawal from the administration and political manoeuvreing became the manner in which issues were redressed. Factions began to appear and sporadic attempts to get the school back on an educational track failed, due to the lack of support of other social actors within the school and community. The respect and cooperation between the community and the school began to lessen which was reflected by a drop in attendance.

Over the year the school atmosphere became permeated by insecurity, frustration, tension, anger, impotence, powerlessness and indifference. The school sub-system exhibited increasing crisis management characteristics. Staff meetings were spent mostly in trying to deal with these crises, leaving little time for anything else.

The third and final year saw the staff,(still the same group), become increasingly isolated, alienated, uncooperative, anxious, uncommunicative, apathetic and exhausted. Two distinct factions emerged within the school which were designated as the inner and outer sanctums. Any energy left in that third year was used up in anger or

despair and was directed either at other members of the staff and administration or at the community.

The community also reacted to the strain and expressed its displeasure in a number of ways. Attendance dropped to 50% and vehicles and teacherages were broken into and vandalised.

The school at this time also seemed to completely lose its educational focus. The junior high students were all streamed into a vocational program,(Integrated Occupational Program), and spent much of their time painting murals on the wall. While the elementary grades still followed the Alberta curriculum, education standards fell and the children grew increasingly behind in their academic programs. The cultural program simply disappeared. Although the teaching assistants still participated in the school, elders and cultural programs were no longer included within the educational framework.

At Christmas time, the kindergarten teacher resigned and the principal, instead of seeking a qualified replacement, gave his wife,(who was not accredited), the kindergarten position.

It was at this point that I took the initiative to speak to the principal about the situation as I saw it. Having received no satisfactory response, I decided to speak to the rest of the staff. Many spoke of their own job

security, community responsibility, or of allowing an outside agency to deal with the situation. Others of the staff did not want to rock the boat, because they felt it would be disruptive to the children.

At this point INAC,(Indian and Northern Affairs Canada), was then contacted about the situation. INAC sent two consultants who visited the school, listened to our concerns, smiled agreeably, and left. There was never any action taken by INAC to remedy the situation.

I then decided to discuss this situation with my colleagues from the community. I discovered that not only did their concern mirror my own, but they were willing to take a stand on the issue. After debating the best way to approach the situation, the paraprofessionals and other support staff from the community decided that the best procedure was to draw up a letter of our concerns, take it to the parents of the children in the kindergarten and have them sign the letter. This was done and sixty signatures were presented to Chief and Council.

However, instead of removing the wife from the kindergarten position which was the intent of the letter, Chief and Council fired the principal. The rest of the year was spent by all in an oppressive atmosphere and reflected an attitude of waiting out the year.

Analysis

Before beginning an analysis of this personal experience, it is necessary to speak to the problematic issue of connecting theory to practice. It is much easier when removed from a situation, to hypothesize and analyze why events happened. It is also much easier when distanced, to be critical of the situation in terms of structure, process and agency.

However, we are all human beings with hopes, aspirations, beliefs, biases and emotions. To be personally involved in the reality of a situation makes it difficult if not impossible to remain detached and objective, and to avoid becoming emotionally involved in the process. Theory is easy to expound upon. To apply theory to practice is often much more difficult. One reason for this is that very often those involved in the reality of a situation are expending all their time and energy simply trying to cope and survive within the constraints which govern them.

I make this statement as a qualifier to the research. It is important for the reader to know that while much of the research explores the educational dynamics the social actors are engaged in, the focus of this research is not directed towards these social actors themselves. Instead, this research will direct its attention to the system in which the reserve school resides.

However, in order to identify alternative systemic explanations for the educational malaise these schools tend to experience, I thought it was essential to first explore the social actor dynamics which currently exist within the reserve school sub-system. It was only after an examination of these dynamics that it was possible to move myself from a subjective position within the dynamics to one that was relatively objective and which encompassed an overall picture of the educational situation.

Cultural Perception and Definition

Fundamental to understanding the reserve education sub-system which I experienced, is the concept of culture. How the outside personnel came to know and understand their surroundings and those in it was intrinsically important to the maintenance of this school sub-system.

The first and most obvious aspect of this issue concerns itself with educational parameters and content. The school curriculum and structure supported the knowledge and values of the dominant society. With the exception of the social studies units of course material based on the local community and culture, the educational curriculum was a strictly "outside" set of knowledge areas and skills taught by outside teachers. However, this was what the community also desired. Richard King in his article, *Role*

Shock in Local Community Control of Indian Education in Canada, notes that,

> For all the destruction and dissatisfaction with the federal school system, the mystique of conventional schooling as the pathway to success and the importance of "basics" in schooling are deeply rooted in the consciousness of the community(1987:61).

Within this education sub-system, the community and school were not at odds with each other in their belief that education was both important and desirable. The staff went with the explicit purpose of teaching the children the knowledge and skills that the Canadian education system expected them to acquire. I sincerely believe that this was how the community also defined and perceived the educational situation. What we encountered was not a situation in which the school and community had different goals, but a sub-system none of us really understood or were capable of navigating.

What is of particular significance however, is that when the situation in the school began to deteriorate those school social actors from "outside" defined the deterioration using deficit parameters. As time progressed and it became increasingly difficult to fulfill our roles as educators, the "logical" explanation for what we were experiencing became the inadequate or incompetent manner in which other participants were behaving rather then the sub-

system in which we were working. While these parameters included all of the social actors involved in the school, most noticeable was the focus on those school actors from the community.

Native "culture" became synonymous with deficit. Cultural variables became a justifiable explanation for many of the stances taken within the school and led to both negative and positive ethnocentrism. Simply by being perceived as *different*, the children were treated and educated accordingly.[2]

It was this connection between culture=community deficiency=educational malaise, which shaped the lenses from which the outside teaching personnel viewed the situation. The identification of cultural/community deficit combined with the marginalization of culture to a subject area, a topic to be taught, blinded those from the outside to any other understanding of what they were experiencing.

Birth of a School

Turning now to the school and its relation to the larger reserve system, I will discuss the underlying systemic factors which I believe shaped and influenced our behaviour. In trying to understand and make sense of those three years, I started to look for patterns that might help to explain what had happened. What eventually surfaced was

in many ways analogous to birth. The school appeared to actually replicate the community structure, system management and actor reaction.

Community Structure/Social Dynamics

Of foremost importance to the existing reserve system is the structure which defined the community parameters. The community lived within artificially contrived boundaries and was governed by a rigid external structure based on the internal colonial model. There was an internal government,(Chief and Council), established to administer the edicts of the external management,(Indian and Northern Affairs Canada). This rendered Chief and Council virtually powerless. Despite the illusion of control, the Band administration could make very few really autonomous decisions without the approval of INAC.

This created a system where the arena for addressing community issues was very restrictive. This inability to make any real decisions meant that no matter how desperately a situation needed to be redressed, very often it was impossible to do so. Inevitably, this led to crisis management. When there is no base policy or plan established to constructively create, implement or support basic change, piecemeal solutions become the only alternative. This type of problem resolution is generally short-lived due to a

general absence of structural support and support from participants acting in the system.

Because of the oppressive framework that encompasses this system, the community tended to pull away from the leadership. For this reason, council meetings were always poorly attended. As well, the existence of factions within the community were widespread and nepotism and political manoeuvreing abounded, simply as a means of dealing with the situation in terms of resource acquisition and access to the power base.

These parameters also contributed to the community members focusing on and blaming other members within the system for the chaos. Continually blocked from being able to deal in a constructive manner with the real problems which exist, people experience frustration, anger, apathy, withdrawal and indifference. Since they have no other channel of recourse this negative emotional energy is often directed at other individuals within the community.

School Structure/Social Dynamics

There seemed to be a direct correlation between the structure and dynamics found within the community and those found in the school. My examination of this educational experience suggested that the school had in structure,

social actor reaction and mediating processes become a holograph of the community system.

The school, for example, like the community seemed to be governed by a repressive framework. The administration appeared to be caught in the same type of paradoxical position as Chief and Council in that they were expected to run the school and its educational program yet had very little real power to do so. Accountable to the Band, it was often council rather then educational agendas that the administration gave priority to within the school. This led to disjointed, confused and impotent administration which in turn led to crisis management. The fragmented organization and operation of the community appeared to have transferred itself into the education sub-system.

Is it coincidental that when placed in the reserve system, the school staff reacted in a manner identical to people in the community? Over the course of three years the staff moved from one characterized by enthusiasm, initiative and open communication to one of disillusionment, indifference and hopelessness. They believed that nothing they did or said would make a difference or have any visible impact.

It appeared that the general reaction to having to deal with these types of systemic constraints was essentially to focus on others within the community and school on a

personal level. In a manner parallel to that of the community, this led to factions, political connivance and minimal participation at staff meetings.

Given that the outside school personnel were supposed to have all the knowledge and skills necessary to "function" within society and were well-housed and financially stable, suggests that those trying to manage in such a constricted and artificial environment found it extremely oppressive and destructive.

For me, it also raised the question of whether the educational malaise found on reserves was due to cultural dynamics. Could it be instead the structural configurations and incumbent processes which were responsible for many of the difficulties reserve schools experience? Could this explain why children did not do well, parents chose not to become involved, conflicts arose between community and school, there was a constant turn-over of teachers and why culture became the moral basis for the interpretation of the situation by outsiders ?...

Summary

In order to explore this question in relation to the reserve education sub-system, I decided to begin with an examination of the seminary model of education the Jesuits attempted in the 1600s. One of the first models of education

developed for the Indian population of New France, it seemed a proper starting point from which to investigate the development and growth of the reserve education sub-system. The next chapter will explore this model and offer the historical points of identification deemed significant to this study.

NOTES

[1]Crisis management is a management style in which the focus of the organization is directed towards crisis. This leaves little time for the basic objectives and goals of the organization.

[2]Kleinfeld notes four different types of teachers in her typology of teaching styles. The first she defines as traditional. These teachers are those who are negatively ethnocentric, expecting nothing from the children because they simply aren't capable. The second type of teacher Kleinfeld discusses is the positive ethnocentric teaching style. These teachers expect nothing from their students for exactly the same reasons. The distinction between the two is the first style is based on cultural wrongness, the second on cultural rightness (Kleinfeld,1972).

CHAPTER TWO

HISTORICAL IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

Current educational research and practice in the field of Native education tends to be presentist and non-reflexive in its consideration of historical parameters. However, to attempt to move forward without first looking back is self-defeating for all those involved in the reserve education sub-system. Furthermore, this trend in the research and practice, ensures that the understanding and knowledge necessary to establishing an educational foundation from which to proceed will never be forthcoming.

This chapter has been included in order to provide the reader with an historical context. To have a working knowledge of a particular situation, it is necessary to explore its origins. Not to do so, is to approach understanding from a synchronic position. This results in limited knowledge and therefore distorted analysis, which is inevitably false in its conclusions. Therefore, the exploration of how and why current day practices in the reserve education system have evolved needs to begin at its genesis, and trace a path to the present.

In order to have an understanding of the educational system in place on reserves today, this chapter will investigate one of the first types of education used for the Indian population. This is the seminary school developed by the Jesuit superior Paul Le Jeune.[1] Some of the more prominent constructs identified within the present educational domain will be used to elucidate this model.

These include educational paradigm, philosophy, policy, goals and objectives, curriculum and student criterion. As well, the affects of this type of education on the individual will also be examined; specifically the issues of resistance and alienation.

The Jesuits and Indian Education

The Jesuit order came to New France in 1625, when three Jesuit priests joined a group of Recollect friars at Quebec. One of their primary objectives in making the journey was to christianize and civilize the Indians who resided in parts of present day Quebec and Ontario. This section of the chapter will attempt to place their work, in the decade that followed, within a specific educational context.

The primary sources used for this purpose are three volumes of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents,* (Thwaites,1897), which contain correspondence from Father Paul Le Jeune to the French provincial of the order in

Paris. The volumes chosen deal with a proposed educational program for a small number of Huron and Algonkian children that began in 1636 and ended five years later.

Perhaps most noticeable in the Le Jeune letters was the messianic mentality of the order at the time. In keeping with their activities elsewhere, the Jesuits make continual and constant reference to their divine mission of converting the inhabitants of the country to the glory of God and civilized life. For example, in 1634 Le Jeune writes in reference to his proposal of a seminary,

> But if the little Hurons, or the children of more distant tribes are kept here, a great many advantages will result ... And, lastly, we shall obtain, by the grace of God our Lord, the object for which we came into this distant country; namely, the conversion of these nations (Thwaites,1897(c):155).

It was with fervour and unerring faith in their Christ and his offer of salvation that the Jesuits came to the new land.[2] In much the same manner as many who work in the field of Indian education today believe, the Jesuits thought that not only did they have the best interests of the Indian at heart, but that they would also be able to provide enlightenment for those who lived in such uncivilized conditions.

The second most prominent theme that stands out within the texts, is the Jesuit's perception of the nature of the

people with whom they were in contact. Le Jeune was appalled at the strange and savage life these people lived occasionally making reference to the untamed nature of the Indian in his letters. He writes,

> There is nothing so difficult as to control the tribes of America. All these Barbarians have the law of wild asses, - they are born, live and die in a liberty without restraint; they do not know what is meant by bridle or bit. (Thwaites, 1897,(c):61).

Yet, despite a general consensus within the journals, Le Jeune,(Thwaites,1897,Vol.(c):229-241), devotes an entire chapter to the description of the positive attributes of Indians.

This chapter relates that the physical attributes of the Savage were in many ways superior to that of the French. Le Jeune notes that generally both the minds and souls of the people were of good quality. He also points out that, within their own communities, they have neither ambition nor avarice, have a patience that far surpasses the French, take compassionate care of one another and abound with generosity. However, at the end of the chapter, Le Jeune dismisses these qualities when he notes,

> It will be seen in the course of this relation, that all I have said in this chapter is very true; and yet I would not dare to assert that I have seen one act of real moral virtue in a Savage (Thwaites,1897(c):239).

The Jesuits then, appeared to consider these positive characteristics insignificant in comparison to those qualities they found offensive. It was within this mental context that the Jesuits came to believe that all that was necessary to remedy the situation was "education and instruction". The Indians were perceived as having the ability to learn and change, if given the right environment and exposure to civilized doctrine. It was not the basic characteristics of the Indians that were deficient, but their lifestyle. It was from this didactic base, that the educational paradigm and subsequent constructs of moral education were conceived.

Consequently, the Jesuit educational system, which encompassed both formal and informal education, reflected a number of fundamental strategies employed to achieve religious and cultural redemption. Cornelius J. Jaenen, identifies four phases of Amerindian education in New France; Education of Children in the Mission Field, Education of the Elite in France, Day Schools on Reductions and the Establishment of Boarding Schools (1986:48,50,52,54).

Education in the Seminary

The focus of this section, will be on the establishment of the seminary at Notre Dame des Anges, near Quebec. This

seminary, for all intents and purposes, was structured and run in much the same manner as many of the residential schools of the later period.[3] It was an institution based on the Jesuit educational paradigm and policy and encompassed specific objectives, curriculum and pedagogy.

Among the objectives of the Quebec seminary, the one of primary importance was that of conversion, including assimilation into the French culture and religion. It was hoped that after the children had been transformed, they would either marry people of French background or go back amongst their own people to continue the work of the Jesuits.

> These little girls, brought up Christians and then married to French men, or baptized Savages, will draw as many children from their nation as we shall desire(Thwaites,1897(b):103).

There were however, other objectives besides conversion for the establishment of the seminary. One of the most important was to establish trade relations with the Indian people. By developing an economic connection through the children, it was hoped to keep the Indian trade and alliance with the French rather than the English.

Another purpose for establishing the seminary was to establish political control. Not only were the Indian children desired in order to create good relations, they

were used as protection by the French if relations went sour. It should be noted that the economic and political agendas were usually reciprocal as the Indian population had as much interest in the economic and political ties as the Jesuits did.

> I wished particularly to speak about obtaining their children and beginning a Seminary, as a matter of the greatest importance to the salvation of these Nations and to the success of the gentlemen of the Company for their children will be as so many hostages to us for the safety of the French who are among them and for the strengthening of our commercial relations (Thwaites,1897(b):63).

From the beginning, the seminary was used to accommodate several objectives which had no relevancy to *formal* education.

In terms of curriculum, children were brought to the seminary for a year's duration in which time they were submerged in a program which consisted of French culture, language, religious doctrine and domestic curriculum.[4] Le Jeune's(Thwaites,1897,(d):63-65), description of a typical day in the life of one of these children is as follows. Arising in the morning they prayed and then proceeded to the Chapel, where they attended Mass. They then had breakfast after which they spent the first part of the morning learning to read and write. The latter part of the morning

was spent studying the Catechism. The children were then given lunch and went back to the Chapel to pray again. The first part of the afternoon was spent in reading instruction. The end of the afternoon was devoted to recreational activities and the children were free to go and occupy themselves. They were then given supper and after examining their conscience and praying one more time were sent to bed.

The Jesuits also apparently had some criteria for whom they would accept into the seminary. These included docility, submissiveness, cheerfulness and appropriate appearance. In describing the children at the Quebec seminary, Le Jeune wrote,

> They were contented, cheerful and obedient... for they were unmistakably endowed with very excellent qualities for Savages(Thwaites,1897(d):49).

Thus, the basic educational model historically found in Indian education was first attempted. It supported the core objectives of assimilation, economic and political control, and had a curriculum mandate which postulated basic education. This system was built employing student criteria which demanded above all else the filial characteristics of compliancy and obedience.

The seminary however, met with many difficulties. Its greatest problem appears to have been the large gap between the Jesuits stated objectives and what they were able to

accomplish. This lack of success in meeting their objectives was partly related to problems with financing. For example, obtaining the necessary capital required to erect the buildings and feed and clothe the children was a constant struggle.

> Great expenses are incurred in order to win these nations. They must be well-lodged and well fed: and yet these Barbarians imagine that you are under great obligations to them(Thwaites,1897(d):47).

The other prominent educational difficulty that the Jesuits faced in their mission to christianize and civilize the Indian population, was the nomadic nature of some of the tribes, especially the Montagnais and Algonkins. For this reason, there was a great deal of effort on the part of the Jesuits, to instil the desire for a sedentary life among the Indians. Le Jeune writes of this desire noting that,

> The reason and many others that I might give, were I not afraid of being tedious, make me think that we shall work a great deal and advance very little if we do not make these Barbarians stationary (Thwaites,1897(d):115).

The Jesuits also ran into educational problems of a different nature. These were the issues of resistance and alienation. Resistance was perhaps of greatest concern to the priests as it was encountered on both a group and individual level. It was often with great trepidation that

the Indian people gave up their children. In Volume Six of *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*,(Thwaites,1897), there is a description of a meeting between the priests and several bands of Hurons for the purpose of taking some of the children back to the Seminary for instruction. It provides a detailed account of the amount of time, money and effort required on the part of the Jesuits to obtain the children. An elaborate feast was held, many presents were distributed and it is apparent that there was a great deal of pressure applied, before any children were allowed to accompany the priests.

> They [the Indian parents] said that the children were dependent upon their parents, that the way was rough and wearisome, that the mothers had tender hearts. We replied to them that our mothers' loved us, and that we sent up yonder children that were not less loved by their parents than the little Hurons were by theirs; that there was no hesitation about letting us take this long journey as a mark of our love for them; and that they should imitate us in this respect if they wished to cultivate our friendship(Thwaites,1897(b):89).

On an individual level, the Jesuits also faced continual resistance to their educational objectives. It was a constant battle to try to keep the students isolated from their communities. Many references are made in the journals to the difficulties involved in directing the students away

from their culture and family and keeping them focused on the Jesuit program.

> In the absence of the savages they obey tolerably well, but when the savages were encamped near us, our children no longer belonged to us and we dared say nothing(Thwaites,1897(c):89).

In an attempt to solve this dilemma, the Jesuits implemented an isolation policy. They established the seminary away from the tribes in order to remove the children from the influence of their families and societies.

> I would hope that in two years Father Brebeuf would send us some Huron children; they could be instructed here with all freedom - being separated from their parents. Oh what a great stroke for the glory of God, if that were done (Thwaites,1897(c):83).

The Jesuits also encouraged educating the children in France. During this time period,(1636-1640), several children were sent to France. It was reasoned that by doing this the students would be completely isolated from the corrupting influences of their barbaric way of life and would be converted with greater ease and success. As Le Jeune states,

> ...nevertheless, in order to wean them from their native customs and to give them an opportunity of learning the French language, virtue and manners, that they may afterwards assist their country

> women, we have decided to send two or three to France(Thwaites,1897(b):145).

While resistance was uppermost in the Jesuits' mind the issue of alienation was also of concern and was, in hindsight, of far greater consequence. The priests did such a fine job of converting some of the children that they rejected themselves and their origins and came to identify themselves as French rather then Huron. As Le Jeune remarks, "they pride themselves on living in the French way and if one of them commits some act of rudeness; they call him 'Huron'(Thwaites,1897(d):75).

Consequently, this most sought after conversion created an unforseen dilemma. There were some students who would have nothing to do with their people. The most intriguing case mentioned in these journals is in regards to a young man named Pierre. Having returned from France[5], Pierre was instructed to go back among his people,(the Huron), and learn the language he had forgotten, so that in the future he would be able to work among them. Le Jeune writes,

> He did not wish to go even saying - they are forcing me; but if I once go there, they will not get me back as they wish...I may add that I have not seen a savage so savage or so barbarous as he is(Thwaites,1897(c):87).

Le Jeune's letters then, if examined from an educational perspective, lend themselves to some extremely interesting analysis. From a broad perspective, it can be

noted that as early as the 1600s, economic and political issues are based, linked and validated on the perceived morality of the situation and tied closely to the educational system.

Evidence of the fundamental base on which the present reserve education sub-system was built and some of the paradoxes which reflect themselves in this system are also found. These include the rationale for the educational objectives and curriculum implemented by the Jesuits in order to achieve their larger vision. There is strong evidence of educational policy directed towards assimilation and conversion based on isolation practices, as well as a domestic curriculum which revolve around a nexus of religious doctrine.

The primary problems of resistance and alienation of the child so historically prominent in the system are also apparent. The model examined reflects the inherent difficulties this system of conversion and social control produce.

It is significant, that the Jesuits, after attempting to use the seminary in order to christianize and civilize the Indian population in New France, by the 1640s had come to the realization that boarding school arrangements were not a particularly viable or constructive course to follow. After less than a decade, the Jesuits came to the conclusion

that it was neither practical or humane to use boarding schools as a means of francisizing the Indian populace.

> Little by little, there was a realization on the part of the educators that Amerindian cultures were not easily eradicated, that traditional beliefs were well rooted, and that the colonial environment favoured many of the Amerindian customs and practices... Traditional European educational system and philosophy, not to speak of methodology and curriculum, could not be imposed on such a novel and unique situation and be expected to produce the same results as in New France(Jaenen,1986:59-60).

Summary

The tradition of regressive and non-reflexive policy which exist today in the reserve education sub-system was first experimented with in the 1600s. The Jesuit educational endeavours that had been so unsuccessful in the seventeenth century found themselves resurrected by British and American Protestant missionaries after the conquest of New France in 1760. Their efforts were somewhat similar to what the French had attempted but more persistent and long-lasting. Donald Wilson(1986:64-65) writes,

> Throughout Canadian history from the time of Champlain's arrival in New France in 1608, there have been three basic views of Indian-White relations: integration or assimilation of Indians into the White culture which, although often a numerical minority, remained dominant because of its technological power over the Indian; biracial harmony or coexistence between the races by which

> both Europeans and "civilized" Indians would live in mutual co-operation; and segregation of the Indian from the White population by means of reserves....Significantly, the same three views persisted during the "British" and "Canadian" periods of Canada's history.

Unlike the Jesuits however, who abandoned their effort to maintain Indian seminaries, Protestant missionaries in places like Upper Canada never ceased in their efforts to make this system work. As a consequence, variations of residential education continued to be a factor in Indian schooling.

The foundation upon which Native educational policy and practices were built has never changed its basic tenets. These tenets include educational philosophy and practice based on moral superiority, ownership, rescue and repetitive praxis. However, as time passed the foundation upon which the structure was laid became increasingly submerged and the social actors became the primary focus. As a consequence, the pedagogical tools used for the implementation of this educational policy became progressively more sophisticated and decidedly more dysfunctional.

Furthermore, while the hidden agendas of economic and political control have continued to underlay the foundation, the major theme still appears to be the uplifting of the Indian to a "human" level through education for conversion.

Essentially, the Native population have been until

recently, effectively isolated, marginalized and allowed only minimal room to manoeuvre within the confines of the system,(including that of education), that was designed exclusively to transform and control them. When they have not been able to comply or have in fact refused to do so, it has been identified as a deficiency in terms of their cultural heritage. The education sub-system which exists within the reserves is a product of four hundred years of misdirected and contradictory perceptions and beliefs.

The first section of the next chapter will present a brief summary of the current research which concerns itself specifically with the social actors involved in Native education. This research is representative of the focus the research and practice have taken in addressing the malaise the reserve education sub-system currently experiences. The last section of the chapter will provide a description of the methodology employed in this study.

NOTES

[1]Paul Le Jeune was born in July, 1591, at Chalonssur-Marne, France. His parents were Huguenots but, upon attaining his majority, he became a Catholic, and entered the Jesuit novitiate, in Rouen, Sept.22, 1613. Pursuing his studies at La Fleche and Clermont, he became an instructor at Rennes and Bourges, and, later, professor of rhetoric at Nevers(1626-28)and at Caen(1629-30). He then spent two years as a preacher at Dieppe, and two years more as superior of the residence there. On the return of the French to Quebec, he came to the colony as superior of the Canadian mission(Thwaites,1897:(c).

[2] The initial Amerindian mission of the Jesuit was short-lived. They were sent back to France in 1629 when Quebec and other settlements along the Saint Lawrence were seized by British naval forces. They set out for New France again in 1632 following the Treaty of Germain-en Laye(Thwaites,1896(a).

[3]The idea of a seminary for Indian boys was first proposed in Le Jeune's Relation of 1634. It opened in 1636 and closed five years later. Not more then a score of Indian boys ever attended the institution(Roger Magnuson,1992).

[4] Of the first six pupils at the seminary only one saw out the year. Two died and three returned home (Thwaites,1898:(d).

[5]Pierre-Antoine Patetchoanen, "who, five years ago,(1620-5) was sent into France by our religious of Kebec; after having been taught and instructed in the doctrines of the faith, he was baptized and named by the deceased M.le Prince de Guimenee, his god-father, Pierre Antoin, who maintained him at his studies up to the time fo his death, until the child became so well versed in the Latin language, and so good a frenchman, that having returned to Kebec, our religious were obliged to send him back for a little while to his parents, so that he might regain the ideas of this native tongue, which he had almost forgotten"(Thwaites,1897:(c).

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

Only a brief summary of the conclusions that have been drawn from reading the literature in Native education will be presented because the research in this study incorporates historical literature in some detail as part of the work in Chapter Two and other theoretical points of identification and case studies are employed for developing the theoretical work in this study.

In the literature, education on reserves is generally described as substandard, problematic and wrought with tension. This tension occurs mostly between the school as an institution and the community and is reflected in the relations between the various actors. Often this research uses a cultural paradigm as its base for interpretation in that it appears to offer one main explanation for the inability of these schools to fill their educational mandate. This is culture.

On a macro level, economic, political and social disparities specifically connected to culture are often cited as external variables which contribute to the tension,

misunderstanding and basic failure of this school sub-system.

> People readily assert that education is important and useful and that if one wants employment it is essential. In reality, behaviour and day to day conversation indicate clearly that education has little meaning to Indians as a group. Few Indians know other Indians who are employed because they are educated(Hawthorne Report,1967:118).

Within the school, research generally concerns itself with the students. It focuses primarily on styles of learning, language, academic achievement and social dynamics. These issues are also defined within cultural constructs.

> When Indian and non-Indian children appear at school initially their expectations are different, they perceive things differently,their familiarity with the material phenomena of the school is different and their behaviour is governed by a differing sets of rules(Hawthorne,1967:127).

This type of cultural analysis is also often applied to outsiders who work within reserve educational parameters. Much of this research has focused on teachers in the classroom. It has looked at their teaching styles, attitudes and overall ability to teach Native children. The general consensus is that teachers are usually unsuccessful in their educational endeavours. This is

often attributed to the cultural background from which they come and their insensitivity to Native culture.

> The fact that Indian life is so alien to Anglo teachers intensifies their efforts to remodel children. They attempt to shape children's attitudes, skills and classroom behaviours into familiar patterns. These efforts whether carried out by gentle, coaxing, programmed reinforcement or harsh and punitive methods result in a lack of participation on the part of Indian children in their own education and a high drop-out rate (John,1976:331).

Teacher Education

Of considerable significance to the field of Native education is the training teachers receive. The main concern is that the formal education of outside teachers and administrators does not usually include any type of cross-cultural education.

There is much written about the type of teaching style found in reserve school classrooms when there has been no cross-cultural training. What stands out is the large amount of human destruction and small amount of education that takes place within these teacher's classrooms.

Ethnocentric and morally right, these teachers embody the inclusive assumptions and beliefs of the larger society. While they feel that Native and Inuit children should be made to feel important, they also believe that it has to be

on the teacher's terms. Their outlook is reflected in the position they take within the classroom.

> One of the things I try to instill is not to lie or steal, because by nature they are that way... The child has many habits that need to be broken (Wax,1964:69,73:citing teachers interviewed).

Conversely, it has also been found that when school personnel do receive cross-cultural information, it too proves problematic. This is because usually the information tends to focus on the differences teachers will encounter in the reserve school. The explanation for these differences is generally grounded in culture. This creates exactly the same barriers to education that having no cultural training precipitates in the classroom. For example, in Judith Kleinfeld's exploration of teachers in Inuit classrooms she remarks that,

> ....the sophisticate in an all Native classroom could do serious harm. Interested in the psychology of Native-White differences they reinforced the students sense of being different. They might socialize village students into the stereotyped role behaviour that their anthropological studies had led them to expect(1972:32).

Implications of Cultural Research

Reserve education and research that has been based on a cultural paradigm has created a number of difficulties. Whatever the surface interpretation offered, there is often

a subscription to the implicit individual difference=deficit mode of thought so characteristic to Western society. This generic use of cultural variance is employed as the standard explanation for the failure of the Native people to adapt themselves to White *culture* and White people to adapt themselves to Native *culture*. This includes the limited success both have had within the reserve education sub-system.

There is very little offered which reflects the broader context of the situation. By employing the concept of culture as the main construct for interpretation, there is a legitimation of the educational model and subsequent negation of the underlying forces at work.

For this reason it appears that for outside social actors who choose to work within the reserve school sub-system there is little understanding of the underlying historical and structural reasons for the frustration they experience in trying to educate children in reserve schools. So much of their work is of a reactive nature that the despair,anger or resignation they experience is often directed towards the people vis a vis culture, rather than towards the historical and structural circumstances.

While it would be naive and equally damaging to assert that cultural/social dynamics are of no consequence in reserve school education, the research in the field of

Native education has not been particularly reflexive in its consideration of whether these differences are in fact the base of the tensions that both reserve and the school systems experience.

What has further confirmed this observation is that periodically data has surfaced which did not support the cultural explanations the research proposed. One such example of this type of data emerged in a study done by Rodney Clifton. Clifton(1988:332), in his study on the attitudes of Native students asked, "How much pressure do your parents or guardians put on you to think about going on for further training?"

He found that overall, Native students were subjected to a great deal more parental pressure than children from the dominant society. From the Native or Inuit perspective, academic achievement and education in general were considered extremely important. Most parents wanted their children to receive a "good" education and believed that it was important if the children were to succeed in later life.

Further on in his research, he also questioned the students about what features of White society Native people considered most appealing? Clifton reported (1988:67) that, "35 % of the Indian sample indicated that education was the most salient aspect of non-Indian culture".

A further example of data which were not supportive of the general cultural/social theoretical constructs the research seemed to favour was observations on teachers who were identified as being successful in classrooms which contained Native students. It was enlightening to read that these identified teachers based their classroom philosophy on respect for the child and a belief in the child's inherent ability to succeed. Kleinfeld(1972:35) notes in her typology of teaching styles that "supportive gadflies",

> ...tend to be highly successful with both urban and village students in both integrated and all-Native classrooms. These teachers created a personally warm environment and at the same time demanded a lot from their students.

Murray Wax(1964:75), who participated in a study on a Sioux community school in the United States, also came to the same conclusion. While it is but a passing reference in his research, his remarks further substantiate Kleinfeld's observations.

> There are a few teachers who develop fine classrooms and teach their pupils a great deal. These teachers are difficult to describe because they are remarkably different in background and personality and some are "real characters" in the sense that this word was used fifty years ago. In general, they differ from the less successful instructors in that they respect their pupils. By this we mean that they treat them as if something worthy of respect is already there. If a child errs they imply that this is not because he is innately stupid but because he is not using the

> intelligence he possesses. They also differ from other teachers in that most of the statements they make about their pupils are positive.

It was research and observations such as these, along with personal experience, which suggested that a re-evaluation of the cultural parameters, which generally defined the research, was necessary. This required a search for other previously unconsidered variables which might explain the structure/agency/process dynamics found in reserve schools.

Conclusion

The applied use of the cultural=deficit paradigm in the literature, regardless of the language in which it is disguised, has proven less then successful in alleviating the difficulties reserve populations have in accessing education within the reserve school.

Unfortunately, this type of appraisal is difficult to change. Supported by all manner of myth and rhetoric, the underlying perceptions which give meaning to this type of categorisation and deficit identification stand directly in the way of those involved within the Native educational domain, preventing them from truly understanding how the reserve school sub-system operates or the real roles that the participants play in maintaining it.

Methodology and Design

This section of the literature review will outline the nature of the study which was undertaken in this research. It will explore the various methods employed to examine and give meaning to the reserve school sub-system and social dynamics. The primary focus however, will be on the method in which the data for Chapter Four was obtained, compiled and analyzed. A description of the methodology, the participants, sampling procedure and the ethical considerations will be presented along with a brief discussion of the data collection and subsequent analysis.

Nature of the Study

Experiential Data

After considering what information might help to guide this research, the decision was made to employ three types of information.

The first type of data included is experiential in nature for it was from my own experience in a reserve school that I initially came to the research. These data represent a compilation of my observations and reflections on this experience when there was the opportunity to examine the situation from an objective position. During this exploration, I discovered that patterns were emerging which could not be explained solely through the constructs of

agency, deficiency and culture. From this work, I came to the conclusion that the sociological use of the concept of system provided the most explanatory power. I therefore attempted to lay those patterns out in a way which might make sense based on sociological theoretical constructs and historical research.

Historical Data

The second type of data chosen to be included, is historical in nature, for I wanted to discover exactly how and why the reserve school sub-system came into existence and how it had evolved into its present form. This historical research has been incorporated into the thesis as a foundation from which to build. Without this basic understanding, it would have been impossible to come to any legitimate conclusions in the analysis of the present reserve school sub-system.

Interview Data

To use only personal experiential and historical data however, was not adequate. For this reason, interview data were also employed. It was necessary to find out whether what I had experienced was an isolated incident or was indicative of the education sub-system in general. For this reason, the research participants chosen were from different communities and held various positions within the sub-system. This allowed me to examine whether the issues which

emerged were specific to a community or were more widespread in the general reserve education sub-system.

Interviewing others who worked within the reserve schools also allowed me to evaluate my perceptions of the situation. When my observations were validated, these data played a further role by offering other insight and understanding into what I had experienced and helped further refine the central themes that I had discovered.

Research Parameters

I decided to employ a foundational premise which supported two theoretical presuppositions. The first was a decision to remove cultural theoretical concepts from consideration in the analysis of the reserve school sub-system. The second was the utilization of a neutral rather then a deficit model. The parameters of this research were therefore designed with the intent of looking at what exactly it is that makes it difficult for those individuals involved in the reserve education sub-system to do their job and the context in which these difficulties occur.

Sample

The sampling procedure was one which involved selecting people who were knowledgeable about reserve schools. The participants were identified through work, friendship and student networks. The participants were also chosen to

allow as diverse a sample as possible given the scope of the work, but formal sampling processes were not used. The six people interviewed held different positions within the schools, from outside consultant to inside consultant to principal to teacher. Three of the people interviewed were male and three female. Three were Native and three were White. Five different band-controlled schools were represented in my data through these people. The rationale for the mix of people and positions was based on the assumption that if what was inhibiting growth and/or success was not specifically cultural in nature, but could be identified throughout the education sub-system regardless of ethnicity or position, then perhaps there were other previously unconsidered factors at work which were affecting the education sub-system's ability to implement its mandate.

Methodology

The methodology employed in this research has been defined as sociological ethnography. It is ethnographic in that it utilizes a participant interview technique. The qualitative analysis of the information collected is also ethnographic. However the data have been analyzed using sociological constructs. This was done in order to identify interactional patterns which might affect the involved

social actors from either implementing or accessing education in reserve schools.

Ethical Considerations

When I requested interviews from those I had decided would be appropriate candidates for this research, I began by explaining the purpose of the research and the extensive role they would play if they agreed to participate. I promised that their anonymity would be ensured by my deleting any reference to the location in which they worked, their names and any distinguishing characteristics. I also reassured each individual that everything they related would remain confidential. A consent form was provided for each participant to sign with the understanding that this form did not bind them in any way to participation if they decided to withdraw.

Data Themes

Of the themes I had noted, there were two that continually surfaced. The first was that it did not appear to be specific cultural dynamics but the manner in which the sub-system mediated structure, agency and process that was responsible for the general educational malaise reserve schools experience.

The second significant issue that emerged was that this tension and misunderstanding appeared to be related to

communication and interactive processes. This knowledge and my own understanding of the reserve school sub-system defined the parameters and focus I set for my research.

Data Collection

In obtaining my data, I followed a basic ethnographic research procedure. I selected my ethnographic focus, held interviews and compiled notes on both the interviews and my observations of what was being related.

The data collected for this part of the research was obtained strictly through unstructured, informal interviews. In the interviews only one question was asked and that was, "What difficulties do you have trying to do your job?" This one question generated discussions which lasted anywhere from two to four and a half hours. After each session, the interviews were transcribed and notes compiled. In her text on ethnographic research, Dobbert notes that,

> Information is first gathered at the descriptive level through use of open ended interviews asking the informant general questions about the whole of the situation under study(1982:130).

I then presented a rough draft of the notes I had compiled on the interviews to each participant. I requested that they check the work for accuracy of language and what had been presented in terms of their perceptions.

Data Analysis

A domain analysis which required the creation of semantic categories allowed me to focus within a more specific context. The research participants were contacted once more in order to check their perceptions of the semantic categories and to discuss these categories in greater depth. Dobbert writes(1982:133),

> In the next research step, the fieldworker seeks to discover the classificatory principles behind each important category discovered. The discovery process contains two separate activities: seeking definitions and uncovering relationships between categories.

After the second round of interviews a taxonomic analysis was utilized in order to further elaborate, refine and connect the different domains and subcategories together.

> At the comparative level the goal is to understand the principles that create the categories, and that result in the division of unitary categories into subcategories, with often very subtle differences between them. Thus comparative questions are not "what" questions but "why" questions that seek inclusion principles or exclusion principles(Dobbert 1982:133).

The major themes that emerged from the taxonomic analysis were then critiqued using sociological constructs.

An attempt was made to identify the interactional themes which correlated to structure, social actors and process.

Summary

The strong focus, both past and present that the culture=deficit model has commanded in the field of Native education, would seem to suggest that the situation is open to no other interpretation. The next chapter however will offer points of identification presented within a structural framework. It will examine the parameters of the reserve education sub-system as well as some of its incorporated process and social actor dynamics. It is a system that appears to preserve itself through interactive processes. The literature would seem to suggest that these interactive processes work to ensure that the blame for problems or failure gets placed on the social actors within the sub-system rather then on the sub-system itself. This in turn denies those individuals which exist within its parameters, the power and ability to do what would be more congruent with the explicit goals of the education sub-system.

CHAPTER FOUR

THEORETICAL IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

This chapter will lay out the theoretical points used as a base for this study. It will then take these general constructs and apply them to aspects of Native education that have been previously identified in the research. These theoretical points of identification will be explored through the investigation of four studies which address the education of subordinate groups within Western society. The main emphasis however, will be on the Native population in Canada. Of the case studies examined, three of the four investigate specific areas within Native education. The fourth is a study done by John Ogbu on a community of blacks, the Burghersiders, in the United States. The research that has been chosen will be examined using the internal colonial model as a general theoretical framework. Within this defined context, the review will peruse some of the prominent characteristics which delineate relations and precipitate some of the educational difficulties repressed groups experience.

This overview of the literature will begin with an examination of John Ogbu's model of the patron-client

relationship. Ogbu uses this dyad to explain the disparity of educational equality and achievement for these groups. Schaef and Fassel's work, which identifies specific interactive processes in a closed system will be also be investigated in relation to the case studies. Zelditch's *Analysis of Equilibrium Systems,* will be then be employed to interpret the systemic maintenance of the internal colonial model.

Finally, there will be a brief discussion of current educational discourses which speak to redressing the difficulties suppressed groups currently experience. This discussion will also explore some of the intrinsic and perplexing entanglements these stances contain in their attempts to enlighten and liberate.

Internal Colonial Model

The internal colonial model is one which has been widely utilized in the academic discourse which focuses on specific subordinate groups within Western society. These are groups who have been placed in a separate political, economic and social system within the parameters of the dominant society. A comprehensive framework, the internal colonial model addresses the predominant system's relationship with artificially created secondary systems contained within its boundaries.

Wall(1987:21), notes that Van den Berghe has established a set of four criteria which indicate the presence of internal colonialism within a system. They are as follows;

1. rule of one ethnic group (or coalition of such groups) over other such groups living within the continuous boundaries of a single state.

2. Territorial separation of the subordinate ethnic groups into 'homelands', 'native reserves' and the like with land tenure rights distinct from those applicable to members of the dominant group.

3. The presence of an internal government within a government especially created to rule the subject groups. With a special legal status ascribed to the subordinate groups who have a corporate, group status that takes precedence over their individual status.

4. Relations of economic inequality in which subject peoples are relegated to positions of dependency and inferiority in the division of labour and the relations of production.

All three of the case studies which speak to Native education, concern themselves with some aspect of having to work within system parameters such as those described by Van den Berghe. Celia Haig-Brown for example in her book, *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*(1988) attempts to analyze resistance and adaptation in the residential school within the context of outside domination. Richard Kings' article, *Role Shock in Local*

Community Control of Indian Education,(1987) investigates what he defines as "role shock" when the "dominated people" attempt to take over their own education. Denis Wall's Ph.D. thesis on *Internal Colonialism and Northland School Division #61: A Context for Decision-Making*(1987), analyzes the incipient changes that occurred in the Northland School Division when its "clients" were allowed to participate in the decision-making process.

Patron-Client Relationship

A theme common to all three of these case studies is that of the patron-client relationship. This type of relationship is standard in the structure and interactional processes established in the colonial model. In the Native educational domain, the patron-client dyad was initiated in the residential schools and continues to the present day. This model is highly illuminating as it identifies one of the underlying reasons for many of the unsolvable problems intrinsic to Native education. In his discussion of the patron-client model, Ogbu(1974:143) writes,

> Teachers, as representative of Taxpayers and of the dominant ethnic group, represent the power structure. Teachers decide when, where, why, and how they will interact with parents. Many regard themselves as service oriented patrons and expect Burghersiders to reciprocate with manifest interest and cooperation if their "problems" are to be solved.

Considering the nature of the system, which is one based on social control, it is a given that this type of relationship would develop over time.

However, while it is a predominant motif in the current literature it is often defined and presented from an ahistorical perspective. Both Ogbu(1974:254), and Precourt (1982:442), insist that to view educational development from a synchronic orientation is unproductive and delusive in understanding the educational difficulties of groups governed by a repressive model. The patron-client relationship is a core obstacle in educational matters, yet it is almost insidiously intangible. It has become psychologically ingrained in the mindset of the dominant group and so has become accepted as reality.

Assheton-Smith(1975:5),in her paper, *Native Education and Social Control: Application of a Model,* describes a model which exemplifies this type of interactional system. The model symbolizes relations between two people, ego and alter. The first pair of letters in the set refers to ego and the second pair to alter. The first letter of each pair represents the individual as defined by the other in the interaction system, the second letter as he defines himself. In the recalitrant model, a-a /b-a is one in which alter insists

that his behavior does not need to change while ego believes that he is deficient in some way. This type of interactional system is a cornerstone of the colonial system.

In Richard King's work, the focus is on what happens when there is an attempt to modify both structure and the implicit patron-client relationship found in this model vis a vis education. King(1987:58), comes to the conclusion that structure and status-role security,(patron-client relationship), are of fundamental importance within the educational system.

> After a difficult transitional year the community requested an outside evaluation. An evaluation team was formed, composed of two retired former provincial school administrators. The report recommended the adoption, with some local modification, of provincial school regulations as basic policies along with conventional school district structures for organization and administration of the school. Recommendations of the evaluation team were warmly endorsed by the school board and rapidly adopted as official policy.

What he does not take into consideration, is that the intrinsic nature of the patron-client dyad was neither addressed nor substantially altered in the community. The school was still supplied and run by outside personnel, who for all intents and purposes, retained their dominant position in the educational relationship.

Wall's work is reflective of the patron-client format at an administration level. He documents the changes that occurred when Northland School Division modified their structure to allow the "client" to participate at the decision and policy making levels. Wall argues that the relationship changed by allowing the LSCB's,(Local School Community Boards), to participate in the decision-making process. However, what he fails to address is that although the LSCB's were included in the administrative processes, the structure, content and processes of the Division were still determined and controlled by the dominant group.

In his discussion on the changes that took place, Wall writes that the processes making up the decision-making of the division were in the main aimed at supporting these imposed structures; but the processes themselves were defined by the participants(1987:176).

Wall accepts the illusion of participation and control and validates this in his thesis. However, there is still no discernible change in the patron-client format nor the structure of the internal colonial system in which it functions. What emanates from this type of "change" is actually an example of a systems technique for maintaining the social control equilibrium. By keeping the participants focused and involved within the process sphere, the illusion that they are effecting change is maintained while in fact

there is simply a further solidification of the system and its patron-client dyad.

Haig-Brown defines and perceives the patron-client dyad from the perspective of the classic dominant/dominated struggle within the system. Her focus is on the "cultural" resistance to the oppression. She writes,

> Of particular significance is the resultant clash of these cultural notions with the systematized European-influence life at the residential school. The rigid time schedules, the dearth of family contact even amongst siblings, and the constant supervision and direction accompanied by severe punishments for deviation were aspects of a way of life foreign to Shuswap children(1988:24).

An important consideration absent from Haig-Brown's analysis is that the system in which patron/client dyad operates actually fosters *resistance/adaptation* in order to maintain its power and control over internally governed groups. This equilibrium is created within the educational domain of suppressed groups through the conveyance of a double educational message. The first half of this message relays the repressive society's belief and perception that it is the basic "deficiencies" of the secondary groups which need to be rectified. This, the dominant society maintains, can only be accomplished through the subjugated group's adoption of mainstream culture and education.

The other side of the message passed on to subjugated groups however is that of future failure. For suppressed groups, there is never any real hope of equal status and incumbent rights and so no real concrete venue from which to redress the basic social and economic "deficiencies".

> At the bottom of the list of priorities for both parties was an introduction to basic reading, writing and arithmetic. The cultural invasion was clearly acknowledged, detailed and documented (Haig-Brown,1988:69).

Ogbu(1974:255), cites this mixed message as one of the basic reasons for the limited educational success of involuntary subordinate groups. While parents tend to believe that education is the way in which their children will obtain equal status and opportunity, at the same time they are smart enough to realize that given the constraints imposed upon them even with a good education their children are at a disadvantage in terms of economic and social opportunities. This leads to educational resistance and adaptation. The subordinate groups adjust their educational usage in order to fit their constrained needs.

For Ogbu, this is the axis upon which the educational dilemma faced by those who are internally repressed rests. There is a disturbing incongruency in how the people involved define the situation in terms of process. While there is little dissension on the general objectives of

education, which may be defined as education = individual/group status equality within the system, the two groups engage in completely divergent processes in their pursuit of this goal. Those dominated feel that education is important in order to assuage their current submerged position. They believe, that only with a good education, will they be able to alleviate some of the disparity that they experience in terms of economic and political power.

The dominating group also endorse this educational objective for the internally governed groups. However, they embody totally different concepts and processes in the pursuit of this goal. The basis for the colonizer's reality is the belief that the dependent group must change socially and culturally before they can take any real advantage of the education offered them.

Their definition of the situation is one based on Western psychological and social concepts. The focal point of this definition is the subordinate group's social environment which is believed to be the root cause for the perceived inability of the secondary groups to benefit from the education offered them.

> As for Burghersiders their attitudes toward education and the effort they make in school are greatly influenced by their experiences with teachers and other Taxpayers. The two groups, teachers and Burghersiders do not agree as to what constitutes the "problems" of Burghersiders

> education, the causes and their cures. Thus the relationship between them contributes to maintaining the school failure in the neighborhood. These different definitions of the situation create confusion, misunderstanding, general chaos, and little advancement of either educational goals or more equitable access to economic and political resources or the subordinate groups(Ogbu,1974:256).

These contradictory understandings of reality are an obvious explanation for the "lack of communication" and the considerable stress and tension that generally occurs between the two groups which is often addressed in Native education literature. John Ogbu(1974:142) in his study on Burghersiders, notes that an asymmetrical patron-client relationship between teachers and Burghersiders makes "meaningful communication" between the two groups difficult.

Unfortunately, the situation that both groups find themselves in is the manifestation of a closed and artificially constructed system. It is a system which has propagated itself through myth, deception and illusion. Because both groups have been historically immersed in this deception they accept it as reality. Consequently, they spend their time and energy working at cross-purposes in their efforts to solve the problem of how best to educate the children. This ensures the survival of the system and the continual repression of the internal populace.

> Positive self-definition and identification are but the beginning point in a prolonged struggle against

> an intricate array of myths, false histories, contradictory values, and institutionalized forms that oppress our minds in the seeming unending ways that threaten to engulf us(Wall,1987:216).

Closed System Process

The concept of closed system processes is also applicable to the internal colonial model. Schaef and Fassel(1988), identify the closed system as one that is maladaptive in terms of process. It presents very few options to the individual in terms of roles and behaviors or even the thinking and perceptions a person can recognize and pursue.

The explicit purpose of closed system processes is to protect the equilibrium of the closed system. These processes maintain the system's symmetry by focusing and involving the actors in the interactional dynamics required to keep the system's structure and form operational. The ability of these interactional processes to focus social actors on each other is the result of their reactive nature. This allows individuals little opportunity to step out of the situation to examine and therefore understand what is really occurring. Subsequently, the system maintains its basic function of social control.

There are a number of specific processes which the authors attribute to this type of system and many of these have a direct correlation to underlying problems found in

the reserve school system. Schaef and Fassel(1988:139), for example, identify several communicative processes which are characteristic of closed systems. Among these is the process of inferior and deficient communication. Communication is usually problematic in a dysfunctional organization and is a symptom of a larger, more pervasive problem.

Schaef and Fassel(1988:150), note that closed systems are also skilled at eliminating significant communication which might make change more likely. One of the predominant means of dismantling communication in a closed system is through dishonesty. When dishonest communication and practices become established in an organization, two levels of communication are exhibited: what is said and what is meant, or stated and unstated goals. In educational terms this translates into curriculum/hidden curriculum, patron/client, autonomy/assimilation, equality/repression.

It is not a particularly astute observation to note that this is a truism found in the educational message and practice that the church, schools and government have historically passed on to the Native people governed by the colonial system.

The final characteristic which marks closed system communication processes is the manner in which communication is used to secure power. Power is maintained by providing

only partial information. This in turn puts the power in the hands of a few manipulators who have access to more complete information(Schaef and Fassel,1988:169). The internal colonial model is an archetype instituted in order to ensure control and power over those the dominant structure wished to subsume. By allowing only incomplete and distorted information to be disseminated it maintains its control over these groups.

> Regimes can get away with considerable deviations from their avowed ideals, since they control powerful organizations and material resources including the communication facilities, which can define much of the reality involved (Collins and Makowsky,1989:132).

A second noted idiosyncratic process of a closed system is that of projection. Projection is a psychological process used when an individual attributes his/her own needs, desires, feelings to others. At an institutional or organizational level it occurs when the organization refuses to take responsibility for what is happening within its boundaries. Furthermore, this projection of responsibility is always connected with judgement and blame. There is a dualistic mindset present which establishes sides and defines situations as either with or against. This process mechanism ensures that other groups and individuals are

perceived as either good guys or bad guys(Schaef and Fassel,1988:148).

This characteristic is also prevalent in the reserve school sub-system. It is found in Native/White, education board/school, administration/teacher, teacher/student and administration/community relations. It is this characteristic of dualism that undergirds the reserve school sub-system and which appears responsible for much of the internal chaos and strong focus on individual deficit.

Another formidable process which marks a closed system is that of confusion and chaos(Schaef and Fassel,1988:158). There is very little real proficiency in the institution. When there is progress, it is the result of an inordinate amount of effort. Furthermore, this lack of growth is the very thing that the systemic confusion is meant to hide. The process mechanism also tends to produce confused thinking processes which are logical and rational but obsessive and paranoid.

One of King's observations in his research was that when the educational transition began to fall apart,"An incipient paranoia began to be manifested. Almost any question from anybody elicited an initial reaction of wondering who wanted to know and why"(1987:57).

The inherent confusion in a closed system tends to precipitate crisis. Shaef and Fassel(1988:161), identify

crisis as another process which occurs in the closed system. Crisis serves two basic functions. First, it allows people to feel and react in a system where they are not usually allowed to do so. Second, it enables the management to assume an unhealthy amount of power on a daily basis.

The argument could be made that the internal colonial system, within which the reserve populace resides, utilizes these processes of confusion and crisis to further deflect the focus away from itself and maintain its control.

For the closed system and those who work within, form becomes the key to solving all the problems(Schaef and Fassel,1988:172). (Wall,1987:157) for example, argues that one of the main changes at the process level within the division was the incorporation of the LSCB's,(Local School Community Boards),into the decision-making as well as more clearly defined distinctions between decision-makers. People who participate in this type of closed system often believe that if they can just perfect the form the difficulties they are encountering will cease to manifest themselves.

Finally, Schaef and Fassel(1988:165), note that the most prevalent problem in a closed system is that the structure of the system is not established to be congruent with the mission of the organization. In fact, the structure actually interferes, is counterproductive or

completely eliminates the possibility of accomplishing the purpose.

This type of a system creates a situation in which the actors involved, constantly attempt to effect change based on information and understanding that is fallacious and by utilizing processes which are self-defeating.

> But it must be remembered that the imposed structures provided an arena for considerable influence. That dependency was supported by the administrators. The administrators again could be thought of as "agents" of colonialism. But they were most likely unwitting accomplices to colonial domination. It must be re-emphasized that the other participants in these events were also accomplices by the mere fact that they participated; but again they were unwitting and they lacked the power to structure the events. Thus the influence of administrators may come from the macro-social contexts within which they have to operate(Wall,1987:150).

Analysis of Equilibrium Systems

Morris Zelditch(1955:402), in his *A Note on the Analysis of Equilibrium Systems,* defines an equilibrium system as two or more units, x1,x2,...xn related in such a way that a change in x1 will be followed by a change of state in the remaining xj...xn which in turn will be followed by a change in the state of xi etc. This general statement of system is of some benefit in explaining how the internal colonial system and the identifiable processes

which ensure its survival continue to be the major educational barriers for those involved in Native education.

When educational systems are allowed to evolve naturally within a local context, it appears possible for both the external and local systems to establish positive integration and equilibrium. However, when the subordinate system has been contrived and established using synthetic and forced methods, the attendant processes which mediate the structure and agency become maladaptive and destructive.

Since the two systems are symbiotic, the underlying processes which serve to maintain the internal colonial group find their way back into the predominant system. To again turn to Assheton-Smith's paper, analyzing interaction systems in which one member("a"), who is deemed to be normal or healthy, is trying to change another("b") who deemed to be mentally ill, deviant, or deficient in some way, the following observation is made,

> The goal of the interaction system or generally any similar a:b interaction system is that "b" will undergo change and eventually become "a", no longer deficient in the society. One danger of such interaction is that influence and change will flow in the wrong direction and "a" will become "b" so instead of creating an a:a system one creates instead b:b system(1975:3).

Essentially, the primary system contaminates itself. This results in both groups subscribing to and perpetuating

unproductive and destructive interactional processes. This results in chaos, confusion, crisis and general stasis of the system. The outcome for the education sub-system on reserves is generally an inferior, deficient, problematic and self-defeating type of system.

Structure and Hegemony

The concept of hegemony has a fundamental connection to the internal colonial structure and the reserve education system. Apple(1981:110) in his article, *On Analyzing Hegemony*, takes the position that educational issues are at root, ethical, economic and political, the first very often justifying the second and third. When reserve systems display dysfunctional characteristics this is often the base from which outsider's interpretations and conclusions are reached. The logic of the position follows this general sequence of thought. Being morally corrupt,(the social pathos the reserve reflects), is the reason for the economic failure of the community and subsequent rationalization for the necessity of the internal-colonial governance.

Giroux(1981:420), writes that traditionally divorced from class, power and conflict the concept of culture has been reduced to an anthropological or sociological object of study that has not only obscured more then it has revealed

but also more often then not has tilted over into an apology for the status quo.

In hegemonic terms, the system directs the focus towards the social actor's culture which masks the actual reality of the situation. In relation to the sphere of reserve school education, this translates into belief perceived as *fact*, that it is the reserve population's *choice* of lifestyle that prevents them from benefiting from the educational system. The world view of the outsider is eventually forced to preclude any other notion of interpretation defined as it is in these cultural terms.

Perhaps, Gramsci sums up the pervasiveness of hegemonic reality best when he writes,

> Hegemony is a whole body of practices and expectations; our assignments of energy, our ordinary understanding of man and his world. It is a set of meanings and values which, as they are experienced as practices, appear as reciprocally confirming. It thus constitutes a sense of reality for most people in society... but always the selectivity is the point; the way in which from a whole possible area of past and present, certain meanings and practices are chosen for emphasis, certain other meanings and practices are neglected and excluded. Even more crucially, some of these meanings are reinterpreted, diluted or put into forms which support or at least do not contradict other elements within the effective dominant culture(cited in Apple,1981:114).

Given the overwhelming nature of the internal colonial system and its inherent devices for maintaining boundaries and social control, establishing counteractive measures is somewhat problematic. There are several prominent fields of educational research which address this systemic malaise. The general focus of these fields is on the creation of strategies that can be employed to dismantle this system's boundaries. It is these discourses to which I now turn.

Current Educational Discourse

Present research in the area of hegemony, education and suppressed groups within the dominant sphere encompasses a number of theoretical discourses. While not specifically addressing the reserve populace, they nevertheless offer venues for redressing the present hegemonic position in which colonially governed peoples find themselves. Central to these theoretical stances, is the role that educators working within these domains must play in order to effect positive change. Several of the more prominent of these theories will be briefly addressed and the incumbent problems involved in the actual application of these theories to educational reality will be discussed.

Critical Pedagogy

Critical pedagogy is concerned with educational strategies which have as their base constructs of

antiracism, antisexism, and antidomination. The work of people like Giroux and Mclaren for example, attempt to apply these types of pedagogical strategies to the issues of domination and resistance using historical constructs. Giroux(1981:422),in his article, *Hegemony, Resistance, and the Paradox of Educational Reform,* discusses the need for an analysis of the interface between structure and agency within a historical account that links the development of a given class to those social and economic forces that were instrumental in forming it. By doing this, people are able to ground themselves contextually in history, thereby establishing a base from which to understand themselves and their current place in the system. By understanding the reality of their situation they then have an essential tool to empower their liberation.

This stance has considerable merit. Historical understanding of the dynamics which have instigated the suppression are indeed a primary requisite to developing strategies in order to sever the social, economic and political bonds that bind these groups.

However, if the concept is examined in greater depth, it is apparent that the hegemonic premise it is attempting to dismantle is still fundamentally intact. Grounding people within a historical context still labels and places the marginalized group within specific historical parameters

from which they are expected to perceive reality. Repressed groups are still only allowed one identity or sphere in which to move and this appears inevitably to be couched in dominant/dominated terms. Subsequently, this allows only limited room for identification and movement.

It follows that it is important to be cautious using this type of pedagogy in the classroom. The question of who determines what the rationality and focus will be becomes of major concern. Is it the submerged population or those who are already in power who set the parameters for the historical design and subsequent dialogue? It is obviously those in power who, for the most part, still define and determine the historical context and account and therefore the dialogue which ensues.

Post Modernism and Feminist Critique

Pedagogy in relation to postmodern thought and feminist critique appears essentially bound not to reason but to subjectivities and partial narrative. Some of the concepts which emanate from this field of study are also of benefit in addressing the current state of internally repressed groups.

Ellsworth(1989:314), for example, writes that Martin and Chandra Mohanty envision collective struggle that starts from an acknowledgement that "unity" interpersonal, personal

and political - is necessarily fragmentary, unstable, not given, but chosen and struggled for - but not on the basis of sameness. She goes on to write (1989:316), that no one affinity group could ever "know" the experiences and knowledges of other subjects who are split between the conscious and unconscious and cut across by multiple, intersecting, and contradictory subject positions.

This in essence means that we can never truly understand nor interpret another's experience or subjectivity either historically or in the present. Given this, the issue of how knowledge is addressed within the classroom becomes extremely significant. Do educators, based on the understanding that it impossible for them to understand the "other's" position, allow the other to define and discover where and how they fit? This is an extremely difficult position from which to manoeuvre, given the educational parameters in which teachers work.

As well, this theoretical stance is problematic as it tends to deny the rational or the ability of people to take action based not on subjectivity but on a common goal. Postmodern/feminist pedagogy in this regard seems to magnify Marx's, "alienation of the individual" to a point where no real movement appears to be possible.

Educator as Agent of Transformation

The last concept to be discussed is that of the educator as an agent of transformation. Apple(1981:112) writes that there are three basic tenets which need to be applied in relation to education if the educator is to be an agent of transformation. The first is identifying the school as an "institution", the second is the knowledge forms and the third is that the educator must see himself situated within its larger nexus of relations. However, within the hegemonic context that has been described, the educator, even if grounded in Apple's suggested tenets, still faces a significant barrier in attempting to implement development and change within the educational domain. This barrier is the fact that individuals working within the school, both those belonging to the community and those who offer their assistance are constantly caught between what the dominant system states as its objectives and what it will in fact permit. Educators therefore are often caught in an intermediary position which restricts their movement in terms of pedagogical change.

Summary

The system of social control established by the dominant culture has wrought a number of irons which are proving difficult to unlock. All three of the case studies

examined which pertain to Native education exhibit characteristics identified in the theoretical literature which addresses itself to this subject. The internal colonial model outlines the manner in which the sub-groups have been encapsulated economically, politically and socially and effectively removed from general society. The patron-client dyad demonstrates the perceptional and subsequent interactional difficulties which occur when both the outside and inside social actors attempt to alleviate the disparities of the submerged group. The concept of closed system processes shows the havoc this type of system plays with interactional dynamics, thereby further securing the positions held by the primary and secondary groups.

Finally the equilibrium analysis demonstrates how both the structural and process levels in the larger society become contaminated locking the entire malfunctioning system in place. All are apt descriptors of the reserve system and its structural, agency and process dynamics.

It would appear that the internal colonial system has created a labyrinth that will be laborious to unravel. If education is to be the string which guides internally repressed groups out of this maze then the role attendant participants and processes play in maintaining this system will have to be researched in greater depth and with a focus

which has so far been lacking in the literature written on Native education.

Having identified and examined some of the systemic theoretical constructs and incorporate interactive processes in relation to a sample of the research currently being done in the field of Native education, the next chapter will offer current points of identification within the reserve education sub-system. These points were provided by those who presently work in reserve schools. It is a chapter comprising of their observations and reflections on the reasons for the current malaise this education sub-system is experiencing.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEMATIC IDENTIFICATION

Introduction

This chapter represents a compilation of the research participant's observations on what they believed was interfering with their ability to do their jobs within the reserve school sub-system. The six individuals whose interviews provided the data base for this research all held different positions within this system and were an outside consultant, two local band consultants, a principal and two teachers. The purpose of this research was to take the data collected from the interviews and identify common problematic areas. A comparative analysis was then applied to the noted areas which produced the following prevalent themes.

External System Parameters/Control

It was apparent from the interview data, that the structural configuration of the education sub-system on reserves is an important factor in the difficulties that Band-controlled schools are experiencing. Up until recently this sub-system was completely controlled by INAC,(Indian and Northern Affairs Canada), whose mandate was political,

economic and social rather then educational in nature. As a result Band-controlled schools have inherited an out of date and inadequate system.

The outside consultant who was interviewed, had worked for many years with Indian Bands. He had also worked for INAC and therefore had a comprehensive understanding of their philosophy and practice. Much of what he talked about centered around the need to get proper systems in place. He felt that the education sub-system was antiquated, stagnant and in need of a drastic overhaul.

> We were just trying to get things up to the 1990s. We've got to have systems in place now for we are dealing with sophisticated people.

Combined with the antiquity of the sub-system was the absence of the necessary political knowledge and experience required to operate the sub-system. Both the outside and local consultants identified INAC's control over the education sub-system as still being extremely restrictive. The Department tended to ensure this control by refusing to volunteer the necessary political and economic information, thereby discouraging educational autonomy and independence. The outside consultant commented that,

> There's got to be a way to beat this system. It's not really in a way beating the system. It's just because no one knows the system that it is allowed just to stagnant and Indian Affairs sure doesn't

> go around looking for opportunities to spend money.

Both the outside and local consultants commented on the variety of strategies INAC employed to maintain power and control within this sphere. These strategies included restricted access to financial information and resources through the denial of information as well as the utilization of diversionary and pressure tactics on the intermediary agents, both within the political and economic realms.

The outside consultant related a story which exemplifies the type of pressure INAC often employs when dealing with the reserve system. This particular interviewee spoke of an incident where a council member of a Band was offered a political appointment on the condition that he would bar a particular individual from sitting at the table during negotiations that were taking place between the Federal government and the Band.

The two local band consultants interviewed were individuals who had expended a great deal of time and energy researching and setting up a proper educational structure for their community. They had hoped that being knowledgeable and well-organized would ensure a functional and improved system when the Band took control of their education. These individuals, who like the outside consultant, spent a majority of their four years dealing

with the INAC bureaucracy, gave many examples of the inherent difficulties they faced in trying to deal with INAC.

> Initially, Indian Affairs didn't want to deal with us - What started off as a concentrated solidarity ended up being a divisive ordeal - Indian Affairs pulled the plug on the funding for the project and stopped phoning. Not only did they stop phoning but they contacted the other guys and offered them a deal without us.

However, the two local consultants went on to relate that they refused to back down on their demands for a quality approach to Band-controlled education and were eventually able to secure some funding. This was the beginning of their initiation into the bureaucratic rites of passage. They stated that,

> We wanted a study so we could have a good plan which everybody knew about. We needed to sell it to the community...It was the community that had been scuttling band control. INAC had been pushing it for the last fifteen years. INAC kibauched us because we weren't doing it the way they wanted us to.

Over the course of the next four years and with an inordinate amount of effort, they learned a tremendous amount about how INAC functioned. Despite the struggle and set-backs they encountered, the two felt that it had in fact

been a good learning experience and that they had acquired a good knowledge base for dealing with the system.

> The more we learned about how the system worked the more willing they were to fund us and work with us... once you put pressure on these people and hold them personally responsible they start playing the game. If we'd stayed ignorant we would have got nothing.

By the time the community was ready to take control of its education, INAC was congratulating them on their success in running the bureaucratic gauntlet.

> In the end, Indian Affairs congratulated us. You really did a number on us. Don't take it personally. It was our job to try and screw you. That's what we get paid to do - fuck you guys up.

INAC then offered them positions in the Department. Having gained the requisite knowledge and experience essential to accessing the external system, INAC then attempted to remove the two local consultants from the community, thereby securing its power over the Band once more.

Internal System Parameters - Educational Visions and Goals

All those interviewed identified the absence of any cohesive, consistent educational vision as one of the key barriers to providing a quality education for the pupils in

their schools. One of the teachers expressed most succinctly the frustration this absence of direction created, stating,

> There is no clear constant expectations of what we are to teach. For two years we might be oriented to Native education and then they'll say, "Oh Gee, our students don't know anything we'd better switch back to the basics". No wonder they're behind.

It was also noted by the same teacher that very rarely was there ever any community vision in terms of long range and/or specific outcomes for the school or its students.

> We were asked to write a mission statement for the school. We said it was the community's job to write the mission statement. It was their school and their job. Our job is to direct and implement. We are facilitators.

The principal interviewed, also emphasized this absence of vision as an insurmountable barrier when it came to trying to determine a direction for the school in which she worked. According to this person,

> I never sat down with Chief and Council to set a vision, goals or objectives for the school. It seems to me that trial and error is the best anyone can do.

The local consultants revealed one of the possible explanations for this void of educational vision. There was

apparently, a tremendous amount of internal community conflict over the specific direction this particular school should take. This conflict became defined in the community as a struggle between the local consultants and the Education Board, and created a major rift within the community. However, while many people took sides on the issue and a great deal of local debate ensued, it was never resolved. This left the school once more with no clearly stated policy or direction in which to move. The local consultants described the situation saying,

> It was a mistake to put the Board in place because it caused conflict in leadership it created two groups of leaders. The Board had more power then they should have and we never got to the point of defining their role and limitations. This was a problem because they had a different vision than us.

Educational Policy

A direct outcome of this dearth of vision and goals finds itself in the piecemeal approach to specific and concrete policy for Band-controlled schools. This disjointed approach to educational vision and direction is reflected in the absence of any long-term and consistent educational policy within the schools. There was a general agreement by the participants that it was this absence of vision which was responsible for the lack of necessary educational policy needed in order to run these schools.

As a consequence, education in the classroom was often philosophically and methodologically fragmented.

The outside consultant thought that this lack of any long-term or clear cut policy was in large part related to the poor quality of the outside experts being brought in to work with the schools. This he attributed to the insufficient funds being allotted to the schools. The result of so many outside personnel coming and going he said, was inconsistent and inferior educational policy.

> One of the biggest problems is that because of the lack of financial resources available Bands end up bringing in people who are not of the best calibre to do the job. When they haven't been able to do what is needed they are dismissed and someone else is brought in. All this is based on cost rather then the type of expertise they are getting. Consequently, policy that is concrete and consistent on a long term basis is virtually non-existent.

The two local consultants also believed that the non-existence of clear cut policy was extremely detrimental to their current educational position. The reason that it had been so important for them to be knowledgeable, organized and on track before they took over their education sub-system was to avoid the problems of disjointed, regressive and duplicated programs that had so long been a part of their educational history.

> Up until the time we took over, the Education Director's position was like a little Indian Affairs - managing little programs. We wanted to avoid this which is why we spent so much time researching Band-controlled education.

Internal Policy and Practice

Within the internal parameters of the reserve school sub-system, the scantiness of established policy translated into ambiguous and shifting organizational structure that was difficult for inside personnel to understand or implement. The administrator strongly emphasized the point that she and the Band Council, who were in charge of education on this reserve, had never sat down together and worked out the direction the school ought to be heading or the best way to get there. This proved to be a considerable hindrance to the principal's ability to perform her job as an administrator. It meant having to work within a framework which was ambiguous and often contradictory.

When we discussed this issue, she related that Chief and Council had told her that she was responsible for the school's operation. When difficulties arose, she was responsible for solving them,(she was the expert), with the understanding that she was expected to keep Chief and Council informed.

When problems arose however, Chief and Council would intervene, with or without consulting the principal, and

attempt to remedy the existing problem. Their solutions were often based on community concerns,(i.e. who the child's family was), rather then what was best for the school and the rest of involved social actors.

What further impeded this individual's capacity to fulfill her role within the school, was the fact that she could never actually be sure when she put a specific policy in place, even after discussing it with the Chief and Council, whether it would in fact be followed. Established policy could and often was changed, without any preceding discussion. This created instability and inconsistency within the school.

> We were supposed to have a school plan on discipline to decide on the goals for the school, however there was no time. Because there are too many things to deal with the Chief and Council simple react. There is never any time to plan or intervene.

The teachers were also quick to identify this piecemeal approach to educational policy as one of the most debilitating in terms of trying to do their job. It affected every aspect of their job. It became clear that the lack of specific entrenched policy in regards to educational goals and objectives left teachers vulnerable and pressed in trying to teach in their classrooms. One of the teachers interviewed spoke of the tremendous stress this

caused for individuals working within this type of environment, noting that,

> We don't even know what day we'll be coming back next year, what we'll be teaching, what curriculum, what subjects-everything is up in the air. And what are we doing - pretending everything is all right. It is the Education Director who decides where the school is going - Chief and Council bow to the Director's advice. However, since we don't have an Education Director at the moment,it is the Assistant Director's job and he's in a power struggle with the Principal.

The other teacher interviewed was from a different school, yet her perception of the problem was similar. For both these teachers, it was clear that their ability to teach in the classroom was strongly affected by the absence of educational policy which included little protection for themselves as teachers.

> The conflict we are experiencing right now has been determined by the man above, the Director. Not only has this undermined the stability of the staff but some of his policies have seriously affected the school and have hurt people. He has fired people, and the teachers even now don't know who will be going and who will be staying at the end of the year. They're feeling trapped and caged. All because this man wanted to run for Chief and made specific promises to certain individuals so they would vote for him.

Accountability and the Reserve Education System

The issue of accountability was a particularly strong theme found in the interviews and took on some extremely diverse dimensions. However, a common thread which ran through this theme was the belief that it was other social actors within the sub-system who were responsible for the difficulties these individuals were experiencing in trying to fulfill their specific roles.

For the outside consultant there were two positions within the educational hierarchy that he considered to be ultimately responsible for the shape of the education sub-system with which he was involved. The first was the Education Board. It was his opinion that the reason the school he was working with was struggling to get off the ground, was the constant battle of getting people on the Education Board involved and active. He believed that the Board members were uninterested and unmotivated until he had done most of the necessary footwork in the first year of their partnership.

> Now the Board realizes they got their money's worth out of the consultant. They would have got more if they had done more. They got their money's worth out of the teachers - they'd have got more if they had done more. In other words, those people had all put in more then their contracts called for. But the return on investment instead of being 10%,had these people put in their portion, would have been 110%.

The second position the outside consultant identified as needing to be held more accountable was that of the school administrators. For this person, it was the inability of school administrators to do their job that caused much of the ensuing chaos. He attributed this to a knowledge and experience deficit on the part of administrators working in reserve schools.

> It is the lack of a disciplined administration that is one of the biggest problems in the system. If the people that are being produced to deal with administration in the Universities are not educated in the special intricacies of reserve schools the situation will not change. We have to get a group of people understanding of the need for administration out there and to realize that there's a void.

The local consultants also identified the Education Board as being primarily responsible for the problems their school was experiencing. The Board in this community had been established the previous year to oversee education once the Band had taken over. The two community consultants had spent the previous year training this Board in the hopes that they would be well-informed, competent and focused when it came time to start making educational decisions.

> We had initiated the training program a year before so they would know what to do and we would be good together. We chose the Board democratically and politically.

Once trained however, the Board began to question the educational direction the school was taking, particularly the right of the two local consultants to make all the decisions. This caused a great deal of internal conflict at a time when cohesiveness was paramount. The two local consultants who were battling with Indian Affairs at the time, had to leave the Board to do what it would because they felt that,

> If the people found out about the conflict we were having with our Board members,it would be divisive especially in terms of dealing with Indian Affairs. If INAC had known we were fighting they would have done what they had done at the beginning and worked at splitting us up.

By the time the two got back to straighten up the mess with the Board it was too late. The Board, who wielded considerable power, simply fired the two consultants.

The administrator also felt that the issue of accountability was one of the most powerful barriers she encountered in trying to run a smooth and competent system. As the principal she felt she was held accountable for the operation of the school without the power to make any real decisions. This she believed was because, "the Chief and Council were both the political and educational leaders". In fact this individual held Chief and Council accountable for

most if not all the difficulties she had in trying to fill her administrative position.

> The Chief and Council are always changing the rules. There is a lack of communication and support on their part. They are also not around often which makes my situation even more difficult. Also we are missing the checks and balances which sometimes causes problems. My role is not very well defined and Chief and Council are not clear on my role either.

Both teachers interviewed held the Education Directors to be largely responsible for the current problems they were experiencing. One of the teachers said,

> The main difficulty we have with the school is the relationship between the teacher's negotiating committee and the Board. Even though the Director is supposed to report to the Board it works the other way around.

The other teacher interviewed, who was both frustrated and exasperated, spoke of the incompetent and patronizing manner in which the Assistant Education Director at her school was dealing with the school and the staff. Although the staff were asked for their input into how to improve the school, it was summarily dismissed and this individual felt it had simply been another exercise in educational politics.

> During the latter part of the year the Assistant Director asked us,(the staff), for our input into how we thought the school should be run. He asked us to be creative and look at what we thought the

> philosophy should be, how the school should be run, classroom set-up, programming - all that stuff. Now, we had spent the last six months working on this before he had even asked and given it to the principal. However, he wanted us to put it on a form that he had. Couldn't he just read our report? In the end, we were just told we were all out to lunch anyway.

The teachers also identified the principal as playing a large role in the difficulties they experienced in trying to do their jobs. It was the administrator whom they held responsible for the absence of support or direction and who left the staff most often to their own devices. The following are excerpts from the interview data collected from the teachers. These excerpts reflect feelings of ambivalence as well as frustration and demonstrate how adversely this lack of support affected both these individuals and their capacity to teach.

> We used to have a great principal but she had to leave in the middle of the year because of family conflict (she was from the reserve). Now there is no unity in the staff. The acting principal is dictatorial. We have no *choice* and this creates apathy and indifference. This principal wouldn't discipline one child because she was related to the child's mother....

> The staff is really disillusioned with the principal. He never supports us in any of our ideas even though he's always making us form committees to look into things. He's really only

> worried about appearances. It's quite a put down and it leaves us feeling not very good...

Social Actor Endorsement in the Reserve Education System

To further complicate the situation, reserve communities have also established a double standard by which to evaluate their own members who work within the education sub-system. There appears to be two criteria which the community uses to measure its members.

The first is the requirement to conform to external standards. One of the local consultants remembers distinctly from an early age, the feeling that as an individual, it was imperative to conform to outside standards in order to be successful. He remarked that his whole life experience has been one of compromise, saying,

> I always knew I would go to University -I grew up knowing that I had to do what the white people said - I had to change, I had to compromise. The system doesn't allow you to be different. In the school system you aren't allowed to be an Indian until University and then the situation reverses itself - you become a sought after commodity - the more different you are the better; Graduate studies is the best.

In describing his experiences in the take over of the education system in his community, there were many examples of the difficulties this pressure to conform created. One of the experiences this individual related was of a power

struggle with an outside person who wanted to be on the Education Board.

This particular individual related to me that over the course of four years, he and his partner's research and set-up for band control brought them into close contact with Alberta Education. They believed that they were considered equals by those they were negotiating with, until this particular outside person came to a meeting with them.

> The focus automatically became directed towards him. They instinctively handed him the report and started talking to him as if we weren't even there.

This informant felt that because this particular individual was both a teacher and white, the community and the outside social actors automatically accorded him the position of power when it came to negotiations which involved policy decisions. He believed that even though he had conformed to the external standards the community expected, it was still not enough.

> This reflects on the community - he was a white guy. The community couldn't trust us because we are band members - he knew more because he was from the outside. The mentality was - you guys aren't professional enough. The whole idea behind local control was to get the community involved in education and system management - they hired outside personnel instead. It's not band controlled any more. The elders still won't come

> back - they're boycotting the school in order to make a statement of disapproval.

There is another dimension to this first criterion of social actor endorsement within the reserve school system. This is the internal set of rules by which members in the community are judged. Once individuals have become proficient and knowledgeable in dealing with the Canadian system they are no longer trusted by the community. This same individual remarked that,

> You have to compromise other things to become successful such as your ability to fit into the community. You ask yourself, 'Where will I fit in and how will I get back?'

This contradictory evaluation agenda places a great deal of stress on those from the community who choose to work within the education sub-system at the policy and administrative levels. They are expected to meet outside criteria in order to work within the schools, yet when they do so it is still difficult for community/external social actors to accept them. Neither the community nor the external social actors believe they have the knowledge or expertise necessary to place them on equal footing with the external social actors. Conversely, they have sacrificed community support as they have become familiar enough with the outside processes for the community to devalue them vis a vis internal standards.

The second criterion for the endorsement of the social actor occurs at the lower organizational levels within the schools. It is also based on the internal/external criteria that exist within this sub-system. However, it appears to be a reversal of the first criterion. Instead of community members being negated by both the external society and the community, internal community social actors appear to be more strongly supported by the community than those from the outside. A number of those interviewed spoke of staff related incidents which indicated that this criterion was not only found in many reserve schools, but that it worked to negate the education sub-system's capacity to function.

It seemed to the people interviewed that if you are from the community and have met the necessary requirements of the imposed outside structure,(the school), the community feels bound by internal rules to take care of you. This in effect, means that internal and external social actors do not have the same set of rules to live and work by within the school. Largely responsible for these two different standards employed for school personnel, is that the school organization is in a relationship where it employs its employers.

The outside consultant identified this double agenda in an incident concerning the hiring practices of his employers. At the end of the year, this particular Band

asked all the teachers to re-apply for their jobs because they had decided they were going to down size and so needed to reduce the staff. As this interviewee noted,

> They terminated all the teachers contracts and made them all re-apply again because they were going to downsize. Well, the thing was there was a simple administrative procedure to go through. All they had to do was go to the teachers and say,'We're going to downsize are any of you thinking of resigning?' But no, they make everybody re-apply. So now, you have teachers who have had to apply three years in a row to teach in the same school. In the end the one person they didn't hire back was the Native woman. But immediately they turned around and said, 'But don't worry we'll look after you.' To which she said, 'Well, just a second, if you're going to look after all of us, why didn't you just keep us on and realign our duties or whatever. Well, of course, that left a taste in all their mouths.

This type of double standard was also mentioned by both of the teachers interviewed. One of these individuals identified this dual standard in the different work and ethical standards expected of the community and outside members. While the teachers who were not from the community were expected to adhere to dress, work and ethical codes, this teacher thought that,

> People who work in the school from the community are basically allowed to do what they want. Nobody makes them adhere to any of the rules or code of ethics.

The second teacher addressed the duality of standards in the hiring practices of the school were she worked. This incidently, was very similar to the outside consultant's experience. This participant spoke of a teachers negotiating committee which was dissolved in this particular school and how teachers who used to have permanent contracts were told that they now had to renew them annually. However this teacher also observed that,

> While teachers didn't know until the last day of class who would be staying and who would be going the Native teachers didn't have to worry about their jobs only the Whites. Leaders don't recognize how hard we work or how well we're doing. It doesn't matter if you work hard or if you don't work if you're a Native person.

As a general rule, there appear to be two sets of double standards, one which serves the community members in the upper administration levels of the school and the other which governs the community members who work as teachers and paraprofessionals in the school. Both have extremely negative effects on the education sub-system. They interfere with the sub-system's structural growth capabilities, and restrict the ability of community and outside social actors to fulfill their educational roles within the school.

Teachers and the Reserve Education System

The situation that the teachers as a group find themselves in was one of the most widely discussed issues found in the interview data. It was an issue addressed at great length not only by the teachers, but by the rest of the research participants as well.

The general consensus was that teachers find themselves in a particularly stressful position in reserve schools. The outside consultant for example, spoke at length of the difficulties teachers encountered in trying to do their jobs properly and the possible consequences if the education sub-system was not realigned in order to support and accommodate the teaching staff. He commented that,

> The teachers in that school are now getting frustrated. They're starting to say,'I'm going to have to go to a public system where the principal acts like a principal and the director acts like a director. Where I'm not going to have to get up at a band meeting every night and try and explain why we have professional development days.If the Indian community isn't careful it's going to lose all this new talent of sensitized non-Natives and well-trained Natives because they're going to say,'Listen, in the real world, we have administration that protects us from all that stuff so we can concentrate on the kids.

The principal reflected both on her feelings of vulnerability in terms of her own job security and on her impotency in trying to protect her staff. Basically, this

individual feels that because there are no real checks and balances in place, she is powerless to protect either her own job or that of her staff. Because she is at the whim of the Chief and Council she is rendered impotent in what she can do or say.

> There is no job security - I've been told several times that the previous principal will be coming back next year. Because of this I don't want to start trying to change things to much. If I stay for two years I'll start calling them on some things - right now I don't want to lose this job.

She also feels that because she lacks any real authority she cannot protect her teachers from the dictates of the controlling powers. It is a position she is having tremendous difficulty trying to navigate and which is severely affecting the educational process in the school.

> When I worked as a teacher in a reserve school before I always felt that it was the administration that was the problem. It was them I blamed for the difficulties I encountered when trying to do my job. Now I understand what they were trying to deal with. I feel like I am caught between a rock and a hard place without turning the school upside down. When I started out in this position the staff felt like a team. Now I feel very isolated from the teachers. Cliques have started to form and everybody is doing their own thing.

The local consultants also discussed the precarious position teachers find themselves in within reserve school

parameters. The circumstances which led to the difficulties of which they spoke evolved around the transition from federal to local control. The year that the transfer was to occur, the Band did an evaluation of the staff. On the basis of its evaluation, the Band decided to only hire 3/4 of the teachers the next year. As educational jurisdiction did not pass into the Band's hands until the following year, the Band gave this information to Indian Affairs so that they might inform those teachers who the Band had decided not to hire back. However, for reasons the two local consultants could not explain, Indian Affairs gave the teachers their pink slips in April and placed the blame for the situation on the Band.

> By April everything had fallen apart and the teachers were given their pink slips. Indian Affairs didn't tell the teachers all they needed to know. It was Indian Affairs job to inform teachers - they were the ones who gave teacher's their pink slips but they made it look like it was the Band's fault.

This of course left many of the teaching staff with bitter and angry feelings. Furthermore, the situation found recourse in the establishment of factions and subsequent political manipulation within the school creating an extremely stressful situation. With three months left in the school year, it was also extremely detrimental to the quality of education the students were receiving.

When the teachers who were interviewed talked about the situation they found themselves in, they spoke mostly of the constant blockage they had to navigate in order to attempt to teach their students. What comes to the fore in their comments is their frustration at not being able to teach the children simply because there were so many obstacles in their way. One of the teacher's described these difficulties noting,

> Teachers aren't in a very good frame of mind right now. Sick days are at a peak and the dedication is going way down hill. The staff is really disillusioned with the principal. The people who are working really hard keep coming up against barrier after barrier.

The Child and the Reserve Education System

What perhaps is most significant in the data is not the issues which emerged in this examination of job encumbrance but what did not. The majority of those interviewed never mentioned the student in the classroom, either directly or indirectly, as a factor in their job difficulties.

It was apparent from the data that generally the research participants felt that the actual "teaching" of the students was not the most critical impediment they encountered in trying to do their jobs properly. Rather it was the other social actors within the system who they

considered to be detrimental to their ability to fulfill their roles within the reserve educational parameters.

Considering that educating the school age populace on reserves is supposed to be the major goal of the formal educational exercise I find this omission,(to understate it), - significant. In the reams of information collected, only one individual mentioned the students as a factor in the dismal failure of this education sub-system to educate the reserve student populace. The majority of those interviewed never mentioned culture, social economic status, language, curriculum, learning disabilities or any other of the so often identified barriers to the educability of the Native child.

This is not to say that these type of difficulties do not exist or the work being done in these areas is not of value. One wonders however, if the students are not more affected by all the various social actor dynamics that have been outlined above.

Summary

One of the basic premises of this research is the acceptance of a neutral rather then a deficit model which has worked from the premise many of those involved within the reserve education sub-system are doing their best to either implement or access education. Moreover, the

cultural dimension has been removed from consideration in the contextualization and analysis of the social actor dynamics located within this system. Working from these two basic premises, two further are essential: if the various social actors are generally held accountable within this system for the actual problematic practices that occur, and the present outcome of the education system is in direct opposition to what is expected perhaps it is time that alternative explanations are examined.

The strong focus on social actor deficit is an obvious choice in attempting to explain the educational malaise which the reserve system generally experiences. However, it is an explanation that appears to be superficial and counterproductive to improving reserve school educational research and practice.

If those involved in reserve school education are not consciously sabotaging the system, then there needs to be closer inspection of the reserve sub-system's structural and process levels in order to explore whether there are underlying reasons for the adversarial and regressive actor dynamics which occur within the sub-system. The question that needs to be asked is, "What makes a system so bad, no one can do no right?"[1] It is this question which will be addressed in the next and final chapter, using the constructs of system/agency/process mediation to do so.

NOTES

[1]I would like to thank Dr. Carl Urion for directing my focus towards this question.

CHAPTER SIX

POINTS OF IDENTIFICATION

We shall not cease from exploration
And the end of all our exploring
will be to arrive where we started
And know the place for the first
time(Eliot,1963:222).

Introduction

I returned to the University, after working for three years in a Band-controlled school, feeling drained, exhausted and frustrated. It seemed to me that no matter what anyone did or how hard the community and school struggled to establish an education system that worked, the fruit of our labour was at best, meagre. This last two years has been spent trying to understand what in fact went wrong and why.

When I began this exploration into the reserve education sub-system, my personal history offered me an advantageous starting point, for I had already experienced a number of the positions within this system. While I was raised in the dominant Canadian milieu, the last twenty years of my life have been spent in the Native community; both on and off the reserve. I am also a teacher with

experience within the reserve education sub-system and a parent with school age children. This offered me four roles from which to explore the situation; Native, White, teacher and parent. It is from these experiences that my journey began in trying to discover what was responsible for the underdevelopment of the reserve education sub-system.

It is not a perspective that claims to offer any prescriptive devices nor is it intended to represent the whole picture. There are obviously a number of other factors to be taken into consideration when attempting to make sense of the current state of affairs in the reserve education sub-system today. These include such variables as culture, political and economic agendas as well as curriculum and pedagogical concerns. Simply stated, this research happens to be the aspect of the reserve school sub-system I have chosen to examine in relation to the whole. My journey into reserve education is reflected in this thesis.

While I have not ceased in my exploration of this phenomenon known as the reserve education sub-system, I believe I know this place a little better; enough to understand that the general inability of these schools to fulfil their education mandate is neither as simplistic nor one dimensional as the theory and practise would lead one to believe.

The general focus in the literature pertaining to Native Education is strongly geared towards the social actors within the situation. The most prominent theme in relation to these social actors is that of human deficit. Native children are often portrayed as deficient in their ability to learn, their parents are considered ambivalent and unwilling to become involved and teachers are often critiqued as insensitive to the needs of the children or community.

These types of deficit analyses are generally clothed in cultural constructs. It is cultural difference, either Native or White, that is usually identified as the key variable in explanations offered for the abysmal rate of education success found in these schools. Unfortunately, this type of elucidation offers a focus that is not only narrow but regressive in its attempt to advance either the theoretical constructs or practical realities of the present reserve education sub-system .

One of the basic assertions of this research is that although culture is an important factor in the education difficulties reserve schools experience, it is nonetheless too often used as a smoke screen for much more firmly entrenched problems; namely that of the artificial environment in which the education sub-system has been

forced to evolve and the underlying processes that mediate this structure and its social actors.

A substantial amount of research has also been done on the external system encompassing the school in which the reserve population reside. This system is defined as the internal colonial model, and it has had multiple ramifications on the school and its population. However, there is little in the literature which examines the system specifically in relation to the school sub-system or the processes which support and maintain both the structural girders and the existing interplay of the social actors within this sub-system. It is this terrain that I have chosen,in a preliminary manner, to map.

A summary of this research and its purpose, will be followed by an analysis of the data presented in Chapter Four and subsequent conclusions. Implications for further research and a general conclusion will complete this chapter.

Summary

It was my intent when I began, to examine the structure of the education sub-system found within a reserve context. My reasons for focusing on the structure of the education sub-system rather than human agency were twofold. First, it was my suspicion that it was the manner in which the

education sub-system was structured that made it a difficult and painstaking task to develop an education model that was of any great benefit to the people it was meant to serve.

Furthermore, I reasoned that if this was indeed the case, perhaps it would be possible to identify the specific idiosyncrasies that were responsible for the systemic malaise. This I hoped might explain what it was that made the sub-system so debilitating that it reduced the social actors within its parameters to primarily holding others within the sub-system accountable for the educational problems that occurred.

Subsequently, I felt an analysis of the difficulties people in the education sub-system experienced might lead to some common underlying themes. From this I hoped that a different vantage point might be procured from which to view the situation and perhaps to propose alternative solutions which would begin to counteract the various problems which have characterized this education sub-system for the last four hundred years.

What emerged from the data was strongly supportive of the theory that the sub-system's structure was inadequate and in large measure responsible for the difficulties reserve schools experience. However, it became apparent that there were also specific interactive processes which supported and maintained the structural parameters of this

sub-system. It was the identification of these processes which filled in a missing piece of the puzzle making what had been noted in the data at a structural level clearer and more comprehensible.

Analysis

One of the biggest problems I encountered in trying to do an analysis of the data I collected was in trying to separate the structure from the social actors and processes. In the beginning, I attempted to earmark the data under the categories of agency, structure or process. This type of delineation simply did not work.

An issue such as factionalism I found, may indeed be interpreted as process in that it requires interaction between social actors in order to exist. However, it is so deeply embedded within the parameters of the existing model that it also takes on structural characteristics.

The social actors and the structure therefore are not independent of one another. Rather, even though the social actors create and reproduce the structure they are also constrained by it. Social actors not only have no direct control over structure but often come to symbolically represent the structure. What mediates the two is process.

Structural Parallels

Despite these types of delineating problems, there are some basic commonalities which have emerged in relation to the areas of structure, agent and process. The first of these is that the structures in place at the school level parallel both the community structures and those of INAC(Indian and Northern Affairs Canada). The basis for these similarities is that the initial structural model was not established to be congruent with objectives and goals of either the reserve community or the school.

Indian Affairs was never truly meant to be the venue for equality and equity for the Native population. Instead, it was designed as a tool to be used in the implementation of social control. The community structures were therefore set up in a manner which made this possible.

Politically, economically and socially the colonial model ensured that the Indian population was effectively curtailed in its ability to manage its own affairs. Reserve communities have had only one model to work with and that is one established not for their benefit but for the colonizer's convenience.

Essentially the manner in which the structure was set up ensured that over the long run the community would maintain the Federal government's objective of social control. This meant the creation of puppet head governance

combined with little or no access to resources and poverty management control of which the major component was a subsistence financial base. Consequently, an agenda of form maintenance,(social control), was secured. The mold was created and the social actors were and are expected to fill the necessary roles in order to enable the form to maintain its original shape and therefore its original function.

The School Structure

This structural maintenance is, not surprisingly, also found at the school level. Ultimately, the system which governs education on reserves is in no way congruent with the actual objectives of education and in a very crucial way actually inhibits education development. One of the fundamental tenets of Canadian educational philosophy, for example, is that education is supposed to foster independence and growth through knowledge. This however is extremely difficult to implement in reserve schools for the sub-system has been established to do the exact opposite. Internal colonialism is as pervasive at the education level as it is at the community level.

Processes

Of paramount importance to the analysis in this study is the issue of processes and the role that these processes play in enabling the sub-system to stay intact, while at the

same time supporting its constant disassemblage. The processes which support the underlying structure are in large measure responsible for the lack of attainment of any basic educational objectives. They have become the invisible mediating infrastructure which girds the structure. These processes connect and support the structure and the multiple levels that this sub-system encompasses. These processes are repetitive, tautological and debilitating in their nature and consume a major portion of the social actors time and energy often with few tangible results.

It is somewhat analogous to attempting to build a house on sand. No matter how great the effort is to shore it up it keeps collapsing which requires that it be shored up again. It is these processes,(the shoring up), which the social actors are perpetually engaged in, that allow the maintenance of the education systemic circular subterfuge.

The Underlying Role of Accountability

Although all the identifiable processes are tautological and intertwined with both structure and agency, accountability was the most predominant theme which surfaced in the data. For this reason, those processes which relate to the issue of accountability, found in the preceding chapter, will be dealt with first.

What was very obvious right from the beginning of this analysis was the strong emphasis on social actor accountability. This included a strong correlation between where the informant stood in the sub-system, whether it be inside/outside consultant, principal or teacher, and who was held to be responsible for the inability of the sub-system to function in any coherent manner.

The main group identified as being ultimately responsible were the Education Boards or Educational Directors depending on what type of organizational structure was in place in a particular community. It would appear that these Boards have filled the educational position previously held by INAC. This would suggest that if the education sub-system is ever to improve it will have to begin at this level. However, given that reserve communities have only ever had one model to follow and that this model is highly resistant to "adjustment", it will take a great deal of time and concentrated energy to establish Boards who can hold their own and follow a course that has as its base the best interest of its clients.

With the exception of the outside consultant, who was aware of the detrimental effects of the sub-system parameters, all those interviewed generally considered other social actors within the sub-system to be the major impediment in their ability to do their jobs. Attached to

this issue of accountability was a strong sense of moral judgement and blame. Accountability became a profoundly personal issue.

The focus on social actor accountability came from an assumption made on the part of individual actors that the sub-system and the underlying structure that supported this system were functional. Once this assumption was in place, it naturally followed that is was the social actors inability to implement the sub-system properly that was the problem.

This type of a focus, for obvious reasons, creates the multitude of problems which have been continually documented in the literature. Factionalism, nepotism and political manoeuvreing are all characteristics of the type of the social dilemma the community and school find themselves in. By focusing on various actors within the community and school the participants spend an inordinate amount of time working at cross-purposes from each other.

Consequently, there is little time or energy left over for any concentrated united type of constructive action in terms of changing the sub-system or even discovering and addressing the underlying processes which keep the sub-system in place. Ultimately, this leads to the constant and inevitable repression of educational progress for the reserve populace.

It is not difficult to understand how the children end up being left behind in this type of system. The various adults are battling on so many fronts, so far removed from the practicalities of education, that there is no time to concentrate on educating the children. As one of the participants in this study noted, "The school system is inefficient and time-consuming. It is not centred around the students at all".

Communication

Another process which contributes substantially to the destabilization of the education sub-system, is that of communication. The role communication plays in this destabilization is twofold. Because of the manner in which the sub-system is structured,(where nearly everyone who is involved is at some point forced to enter into a situation that is at cross-purposes with someone else), communication is often deficient, partial or dishonest.

Essentially the school, community and the involved actors have simply adopted and imitated the very strategies that INAC had been practicing on reserve communities for a very long time. Control and power based on partial dessemination and dishonest communication.

Unfortunately, combined with the structural parameters with which the school and community have to work these types

of communicative processes work to ensure that the education sub-system remains in a constant state of disarray.

Furthermore, it would appear that the combination of the incongruency of the structure, the issue of accountability and the subsequent manipulation of the communication processes create an extremely unstable situation characterized mainly by confusion, chaos and crisis.

Confusion and Chaos

From most of the interviewees came the disclaimer, "I just don't know what's going on, or why things aren't working." The inside consultants perhaps described it the most succinctly when they were discussing what they thought had been the reasons for their having been dismissed saying, "Being ousted just developed from the scenario." Other statements from the research participants that reflected the feeling of being at a total loss to explain just exactly what was happening included, 'The alienation is a reflection of the chaos and confusion at a personal level,' and 'the teachers feel confused and trapped,' and 'I feel like I'm caught between a rock and hard place - I'm always getting double messages; Don't bother us/why didn't you tell us type of messages'.

Appearances

To add to the confusion is the apparent unwritten law that everything must appear to be under control and going smoothly. Maintaining appearances seems to be of vital importance, (although there were a number of reasons given which justified this appearance maintenance). The two inside consultants remarked that they did not want anyone to know that the situation was falling apart because they were worried it would be dismantled completely. One of the teachers who was on a secret grievance committee said that it needed to be secret or everyone would be fired. The other teacher interviewed stated,

> All this stuff happening which is meant to make the school look good - while there's a bunch of garbage underneath.

Being immersed in this type of confusion and chaos supported by the demand for appearance maintenance besides being extremely draining on all involved has one further consequence. It screens the inertia of the sub-system. The confusion and chaos performs this function by focusing the social actors attention and energy into trying to cope with the chaos leaving little time to identify the actual cause of the confusion. It is a reactive process whose focal point takes the form of crisis.

Crisis

It would appear that crisis of one form or another is centrally located within the education sub-system found on reserves. Remarks from the research participants such as 'By April everything had fallen apart' and 'Crisis is becoming more frequent as the year goes on' continually mark the pages of the interviews.

Crisis serves five identifiable functions within the education sub-system. First, it acts as a further deterrent against identifying the existing inertia. Second, crisis is a process which allows the actors involved to react to something which appears to be tangible and concrete. It creates the illusion that the actors can be involved in problem-resolution and actually effect some change within the sub-system. Third, crisis allows people to give vent to some of their pent-up feelings. It serves as a type of a pressure valve. Fourth, crisis also appears to act as a desensitizer. It appears that after awhile crisis becomes accepted as a normal occurrence. Finally, crisis also tends to exacerbate the connection between accountability and the blame and judgement inherent to the situation.

For the social actors in the education sub-system to spend their days dealing with crisis after crisis which are never resolved, yet constantly needed to be attended to,

further detracts from the social actors ability to provide or access education.

The Personal

Of considerable importance to this analysis is the effects these types of processes have on those who reside and participate within this sub-system. In a manner very similar to my own experience, the informants experienced feelings of apathy, anger, despair, frustration, powerlessness, isolation, confusion and above all else exhaustion. The principal interviewed, who had held her job for less than eight months, said she was beginning to feel burnt out and that after awhile, "you got so tired it was just easier to go with the flow then to try and fight it." The two inside consultants frequently remarked on how sheer physical and mental exhaustion defeated them on more then one occasion. "The year we took over the system I ran out of steam. I simply couldn't do it any more."

Another informant mentioned that while at the beginning of the year the staff was working as a unified cohesive unit, by the middle of the year there was a significant decrease in staff participation and a definite feeling of isolation. Yet another said, "everybody is doing their own thing - there is minimal involvement and cliques have started to form".

These types of reactions to the current education sub-system on reserves are reminiscent of those described by the Jesuit priests in the 1600s. It is not a great leap to see how withdrawal from leadership, apathy, frustration, confusion,isolation.... could be framed within the constructs of resistance and alienation.

The impression from the data collected was that everyone felt that they were battling alone or in small groups in a no win situation. When you take away people's right or ability to determine or change their situation yet at the same time hold them responsible for the very same situation, these types of responses are inevitable. Unfortunately, these types of responses are extremely damaging on systemic and individual levels to both the school and community.

The rigidity of a structure which allows for little or no movement in terms of concrete recourse regardless of the issue, forces the social actors within to vent their frustration and blame on others and this allows the structure to remain relatively stable. Furthermore, because these processes, be they lack of communication, accountability, chaos and confusion, crisis ... are reactive in their nature, there is very little time or opportunity to withdraw and be objective and proactive.

The lack of awareness and understanding of how the processes are constructed and the rules by which they are governed successfully inhibit most individuals involved, (either those working in it or those studying it), from identifying and addressing the fundamental malaise upon which the model has been organized and now operates.

This in essence is what keeps it intact as a sub-system. The artificial foundation and processes preclude any hope of it ever being particularly functional or growth oriented, yet at the same time prevents the sub-system from total collapse.

One of the inside consultants summed up the general feeling about what most of those interviewed had been experiencing when he said, " I felt like I had created a monster that was out of control." There is probably no more apt description of the model the bands have inherited from their messianic and colonial predecessors.

Implications for Further Study

Where this type of structural malaise seems to hit hardest is where it can do the greatest damage - ostensibly the teachers and those they are supposed to be educating. In what appears to be an extremely volatile situation it is the teachers who are placed under the greatest stress and in the

most vulnerable position. This automatically transfers itself into the classroom.

It would be an obvious next step to look more specifically at how the type of situation in which teachers find themselves, affects their ability to teach. It would also be interesting to explore the students' perspective of how their ability to engage in the learning process is affected by the type of turbulence that appears to surround them. Implicit in this further investigation would be a closer examination of the sub-system which encompasses these two groups.

The last area that would be intrinsically advantageous to explore and one that has grown considerably over the past twenty years is the area of healing of the self. Having to live in this type of dysfunctional environment is extremely difficult and debilitating and the value of salvaging the self from its clutches is no small matter.

I think the closest I will ever come to understanding what it is like to be part of an oppressed population is through my teaching experience in a reserve school. To be expected to exist in that type of insidiously constrictive environment, governed by those who do not know, do not care or have other agendas to attend to, and to be essentially powerless to change anything was one of the most difficult experiences I have ever been through. Quite frankly, my

respect and admiration for the people who live on reserves could not be greater.

It is with a far deeper understanding now that I see what a remarkable achievement it has been for those who have had to reside in those little enclaves and try to cope with all the pressures that the outside society has brought to bear on them. Not only have they survived but they have made incredible strides in cutting the bonds that hold them.

The price however has been monumental and it is for this reason that healing must play a part in the education domain. Not so much the healing associated with therapy and psychologists, but the healing that comes through knowledge and understanding of the circumstances that bind one. I make this suggestion based on purely personal experience as it was for this reason that I came back to University - to read, to learn, to try and make sense of what I had experienced. Having come to a satisfactory understanding I no longer feel frustrated, discouraged or powerless.

What has been of great personal interest, is that having come to this particular understanding, the connection between healing and education within the Native sphere now becomes more apparent. These two fields are the fastest growing within the Native domain and for good reason. When I returned to University, it was in an effort to both make sense of my experience and to effect a healing process.

Advancing this analysis, if it has taken me two years to heal from three years of working in this type of environment, one could assume that not only will it take the community much longer to heal, but that it is also of primary importance that educational resources are put into place that encourage and support the healing process.

In a society confined and subjugated to the dictates of the "other", where the people have been socially, economically, politically, geographically, psychologically, culturally, mentally and emotionally debased and abused, any theory which concerns itself with Native education should try to incorporate some aspect of healing of self.

It must extend past the personal to address the structural, for if the structure is not changed, no amount of personal healing is going to alleviate the cause of the systemic debility. In fact, the structure will simply continue to "create" individuals who need healing. Sarup's remarks on anti-racist education are suggestive of the manner in which this might begin to be accomplished within the educational domain.

In trying to understand and clarify the underpinnings of the dominant society's hidden agendas, Sarup(1991:35), writes that one of the assumptions of anti-racist education is,

> that the real is a multi-layered structure consisting of entities and processes lying at different levels of that structure. The empirical world with which we are familiar is on a surface level but is causally connected to 'deeper' ontological levels, and it is by virtue of the causal connections that we can use sense-data, experience and observation in constructing knowledge of the structures and processes of the real. These causal connections cannot themselves be understood through experience because neither the underlying structures nor the connection between these structures and the empirical world are themselves experienced. The connection can only be reconstructed in knowledge.

That there is little connection or reconstruction between these various levels of hegemonic structure and process and agency dynamics is a major weakness of the educational research and practice occurring at this time in Native education.

Conclusion

Having examined the reserve school sub-system and its underlying paradigm, philosophy and pedagogy - having explored its present systemic parameters and the existing prevalent social actor dynamics - I have come to the same conclusion that the Jesuits, employing this same model, came to nearly four hundred years ago; the model is hard pressed to meet its educational mandate. Over the course of time, it has in fact devolved to a point where the negation of

education within reserve schools has become the primary directive.

Within this research I have offered the following points of identification; The colonial model has created a system which is repressive, malfunctional and produces the previously described social actor dynamics found within the reserve school sub-system. The school's structure/agency/process dynamics in this system are identical to that of the community's. This supports the hypothesis that cultural considerations, which have become the major explanation for the failure of this education sub-system, cannot solely be used to explain this system's inability to meet the reserve populace's educational needs.

Instead, it is the systemic parameters and underlying processes which produce the continuing social actor dynamics which are largely responsible for the reserve school's inability to produce and meet its educational objectives and goals.

By far the most significant consequence of this systemic malaise is its affect on the children - they are denied an education.

If the problematic issues found in the reserve education sub-system are to be redressed, then it is time to stop viewing this situation only through cultural lenses defined by dominant socio/historical parameters and work

together for the children and their futures. In order to do this, outside social actors involved in reserve school education need to try and connect and understand on a personal level that they are experiencing and reacting to a system in exactly the same manner that the reserve population has been for the last four hundred years. As a consequence, many of the difficulties they encounter are due to systemic difference rather than cultural difference.

There also needs to be an acknowledgement that although there are a number of considerations which affect the reserve education sub-system, *social actor deficit* cannot continue to be used as the primary explanation. Those involved in the reserve school sub-system must bear in mind that it is the educational structure and the interactive processes that mediate the social actors which substantially contribute to the educational malaise. In the final analysis, it is the reserve education sub-system rather then those who exist within its parameters that has the greatest need of reform.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Apple, Michael W.,"Curriculum and Instruction", *Analyzing Hegemony*, Giroux and Pennar(eds.), California: Berkeley Press, 1981

Assheton-Smith, Marilyn,"Native Education and Social Control: Application of a Model", An unpublished paper prepared for the Western Anthropology and Sociology Association meeting, Banff, Alberta, December, 1975

Barman, J., Hebert, Y., McCaskill D.,(eds.), *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987

Barman, J., Hebert, Y., McCaskill, D.,(eds.), *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 2: The Challenge*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1987

Bogdan R. and Biklen S.K.,"Data Analysis", *Qualitative Research For Education; An Introduction to Theory and Methods*, Boston: Allyn and Bacon,(1992):152-184

Boldt, M., and Long, A.J., *The Quest for Justice, Aboriginal Peoples and Aboriginal Rights*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985

Brody, Hugh, *Maps and Dreams, Indians and the British Columbia Frontier*, Vancouver: Douglas and McIntyre Ltd., 1981

Bryde, J.F., *The Sioux Indian Student: A Study of Scholastic Failure*, Pineridge, South Dakota: Copyright by J.F. Bryde 1966

Carney, Robert,"The Road to Heart Lake, Native People: Adult Learners and the Future", *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 9:3,(1982):1-13

Carstens, Peter, *The Queen's People, A Study of Hegemony Coercion, and Accommodation among the Okanagan of Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991

Castellano, M.B.,"Health Policy and Development", *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 2:1,(1982):118-127

Christenson, J.A., Robinson, J.W.,(eds.) *Community Development in Perspective*, Iowa:Iowa State University Press, 1989

Clifton, Rodney,"Self-Concept and Attitudes Towards Education of Indian and Non-Indian Students Enrolled in an Integrated School", unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Alberta, 1971

Clifton, Rodney and Roberts, Lance,"Social Psychological Dispositions and Academic Achievement of Inuit and Non-Inuit Students", *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research* 34:4,(1988):332-343

Collingwood, R.G., *The Idea of History*, London: Oxford University Press, 1946

Collier Jr.,John, *Alaskan Eskimo Education, A Film Analysis of Cultural Confrontation in the Schools*, New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1973

Collins R., Makowsky, M., *The Discovery of Society*, Fourth Edition, New York: Random House, 1989

Dobbert, M.L.,"Ethnographic Research, Theory and Application for Modern Schools and Societies", *Praeger Studies in Ethnographic Perspectives on American Education*, New York, New York: Praeger, 1982

Dumont Jr., Robert, V.,"Learning English and How to be Silent: Studies in Sioux and Cherokee Classrooms", *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, New York: Teachers College Press,(1976):344-369

Eliot, T.S., *Collected Poems 1909-1962*, London: Faber and Faber Ltd., 1963

Ellsworth, Elizabeth,"Why Doesn't This Feel Empowering? Working Through the Repressive Myths of Critical Pedagogy", *Harvard Educational Review*, 59:3, (1989):297-325

Erasmus, Peter,"Practical Framework for Community Liason Work in Native Communities", sponsored by: Improvement Districts and Native Services Div., Alberta Municipal Affairs, Edmonton, Alta. 1989

Friere, P., *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, New York: Seabury Press, 1973

Gibson, M., Ogbu, J., *Minority Status and Schooling*, New York, Garland Publishing, 1991

Giroux, H.,"Hegemony, Resistance, and the Paradox of Educational Reform", *Curriculum and Instruction* Berkeley: McCutchan,(1981):400-427

Giroux, Henry A.,"Modernism, Postmodernism, and Feminism: Rethinking the Boundaries of Educational Discourse", *Postmodernism, Feminism and Cultural Politics*, New York: State University of New York Press,(1991): 1-59

Goetz, J.P. and LeCompte, M.D., *Ethnography and Qualitative Design in Educational Research*, Orlando: Academic Press, 1884

Haig-Brown, C., *Resistance and Renewal: Surviving the Indian Residential School*, Vancouver: Tillacum Library, 1988

Hamilton, William, Leslie,"The Perception of Problems Associated with Inter-Group Relations in Integrated Schools", unpublished Masters Thesis, University of Alberta, 1966

Hensen, J.,"Native Literacy Projects", *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 2:1,(1982):81-89

Hodysh, Henry, W.,"Educational History As A Field of Study", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis , Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, 1967

Hynam, C.,"A Unique Challenge for Community Development: The Alberta Experience", *Community Development Journal*, 8:1,(1973):37-44

Jaenen, C.J.,"Education for Francization: The Case of New France in the Seventeenth Century, *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy*, Jean Barman,Yvonne Hebert, Don McCaskill,(eds.), Vancouver, University of British Columbia Press,(1987):45-61

John, Vera,"Styles of Learning-Styles of Teaching: Reflections on the Education of Navajo Children", *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, New York: Teachers College Press,(1976):331-342

King, Richard,"Role Shock in Local Community Control of Indian Education", *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 2; The Challenge*, Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McCaskill,(eds.), Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press,(1987):43-62

Kleinfeld, Judith,"Positive Stereotyping: The Cultural Relativist in the Classroom", *Human Organization*, 34,(1975):269-274

Kleinfeld, Judith,"Effective Teachers of Indian and Eskimo High School Students", Eric Reports, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Education, Washington D.C., 1972

Kuhn, Thomas, *The Structure of Scientific Revolutions*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970

Lahr, John,"Under the Skin", *The New Yorker Magazine*, New York, New York: June 1993

Lockhart, A.,"Insider-Outsider Dialectic in Socio-Economic Development: A Case Study in Process Understanding", *Canadian Journal of Native Studies*, 2:1,(1982):160-169

Longboat, Diane,"First Nations Control of Education: The Path to our Survival as Nations", *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 2: The Challenge*, Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McCaskill,(eds.), Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press,(1987):23-40

Macy, J.R., *Despair and Personal Power in the Nucleur Age*, San Francisco: New Society Publishers, 1973

Magnuson, Roger, *Education in New France*, Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press, 1992

Manuel G., *The Fourth World, An Indian Reality*, Don Mills Ontario: MacMillan, 1974

Mazurek, Kasper,"History; Historiography; Historical Praxis", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, 1981

Miller, J.R., *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens, A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989

Ogbu, J.U., *Minority Education and Caste, the American System in Cross-Cultural Perspective*, New York: Academic Press, 1978

Ogbu, J.U., *The Next Generation, An Ethnography of Education in an Urban Neighborhood*, New York: Academic Press,1974

Philips, Susan U.,"Participant Structures and Communicative Competence: Warm Springs Children in Community and Classroom", *Functions of Language in the Classroom*, New York: Teachers College Press,(1976):370-393

Ponting, J.R., *Arduous Journey: Canadian Indians and Decolonization*, Toronto: McCelland and Stewart Ltd.,1986

Rampaul, W.E., Singh,M., Didyk,J.,"The Relationship Between Academic Achievement, Self-Concept, Creativity, and Teacher Expectations Among Native Children in a Northern Manitoba School", *The Alberta Journal of Educational Research*, 30:3,(1984):213-225

Sacks, K.B., "toward a unified theory of class, race and gender", *American Ethnologist*, 16:August,(1989):534-546

Salisbury, R., *Homeland for the Cree: Regional Development in James Bay 1971-1981.*, Kingston, Ontario: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986

Sarup, Madan,"Chapter 3, Multicultural and/or antiracist education" *Education and the Ideologies of Racism*, Stroke of Trent, England,Trentham Books,(1991):29-41

Schaef, A.W. and Fassel, D., *The Addictive Organization*, San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1988

Silverman, David, Qualitative Methodology and Sociology, Describing the Social World, Aldershot, England: Gower Publishing, 1985

Sleeter, C.,"Empowerment through Multicultural Education", *Introduction; Multicultural Education and Empowerment*, New York: State University of New York Press, 1991

Spindler, George, *Doing the Ethnography of Schooling*, New York: Holt, Rinehardt and Winston, 1982

Spradley, James, *The Ethnographic Interview*, New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1979

Spradley, James, *Participant Observation*, New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1980

Thwaites, Reuben Gold (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610 - 1791*, Cleaveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1897:Volume 1,(a)

Thwaites, Reuben Gold (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610 - 1791*, Cleaveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1897:Volume 5,(b)

Thwaites, Reuben Gold (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610 - 1791*, Cleaveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1897:Volume 6,(c)

Thwaites, Reuben Gold (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents, Travels and Explorations of the Jesuit Missionaries in New France, 1610 - 1791*, Cleaveland: The Burrows Brothers Company, 1897:Volume 12,(d)

Tremblay, M.A., Vallee, F.G., Ryan, J., *A Survey of the Contemporary Indians of Canada: Economic, Political, Educational Needs and Policies, Part 2*, H.B. Hawthorn (ed.), Ottawa: Indian Affairs Branch, 1967

Wall, Denis,"Internal Colonialism and Northland School Division #61: A Context for Decision-Making", unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Department of Educational Foundations, University of Alberta, 1987

Wax, Murray, Wax, Rosalie, Dumont, R.V.,"Formal Education in an American Indian Community", Eric Reports, U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare, National Institute of Education, Washington, D.C., 1964

Wein, Fred,"Rebuilding the Economic Base of Indian Communities: The Micmac of Nova Scotia", Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1986

Wilson, D.J.,"No Blanket to be Worn in School": The Education of Indians in Nineteenth-Century Ontario, *Indian Education in Canada, Volume 1: The Legacy*, Jean Barman, Yvonne Hebert and Don McCaskill(eds.), Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, (1987):64-83

York, G., *The Dispossessed; Life and Death in Native Canada*, London: Lester, Orpen and Dennys, 1989

Zelditch, M.,"A Note on the Analysis of Equilibrium Systems", Talcott Parsons and E. Bales, *Family, Socialization and Interaction Process*, New York: The Free Press, 1955